
THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

After Portugal-- Is Spain next?



Upsurge in Portugal poses threat to Franco dictatorship in neighboring Spain. For exclusive interview with Spanish revolutionists, see page 14.

The roots of Watergate--A Marxist view/4
Teachers discuss fight for jobs, schools/6
Socialists press for right to be on ballot/20

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Nixon faces Supreme Court ruling on tapes
- 4 W'gate: Roots of ruling class's dilemma
- 5 Vietnam vets hold July 4 protests
- 8 AFSCME maps organizing drive
- 9 Harper & Row strikers win most demands
- 13 Lisbon censorship mounts; rural workers strike
- 17 Rebel troops in Ethiopia win concessions
- 18 After Peron: what course for Argentina?
- 19 Nixon Court: whittling away at democratic rights
- 20 Mass. officials attempt to bar socialist candidate
- 22 Nationality and class: the two sides of Black oppression
- 23 New attacks on Wounded Knee leaders
- 25 Outrage at British police murder
- 28 Energy trusts move West—rob Indians, leave wasteland

- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 National Picket Line By Any Means Necessary
- 12 Great Society Women in Revolt La Raza en Accion
- 21 Campaigning for Socialism
- 24 In Review

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 38/NUMBER 28
JULY 19, 1974
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JULY 10, 1974

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Telephone: (213) 483-2798.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: domestic, \$5 a year; foreign, \$8.50. By first-class mail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$30; all other countries, \$51. By airmail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$40. By air printed matter: Central America and Caribbean, \$38; Mediterranean Africa, Europe, and South America, \$50; USSR, Asia, Pacific, and Africa, \$60. Write for foreign sealed air postage rates.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly: Britain and Ireland, £1.20 for 10 issues, £4.50 for one year; Continental Europe, £1.50 for 10 issues, £5.50 for one year. Send banker's draft directly to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

RAP BROWN SENTENCE CHALLENGED: Defense attorney William Kunstler recently filed a motion in federal court in New Orleans demanding that a five-year sentence given H. Rap Brown be dropped. Kunstler made the motion on the grounds that the FBI had conspired to victimize Brown and other Black militants. Plans are being made to file a similar motion in New York City to end the sentence Brown is now serving at Attica.

In an affidavit, Kunstler referred to the COINTELPRO ("counterintelligence program") documents of the FBI, which show that the FBI carries out a "disruption program" against Black militants, socialists, and other radicals.

In the original COINTELPRO documents the names of several Black leaders were listed as targets for "disruption" by the FBI. However, in the copies of the documents that were made public these names were blocked out.

Kunstler asserts that a government attorney has informed him that Brown's name was one of those on the list.

MICHIGAN WORKERS STRIKE FOR UNION RECOGNITION: Members of United Auto Workers Local 985 went on strike June 13, reports Militant correspondent Martha Pettit in Ann Arbor. The strike, against the Argus Company, a manufacturer of optical components, succeeded in shutting the plant down June 21.

Union recognition is the main issue in the strike. The approximately 110 workers on hourly wages voted in April 1973 to affiliate with the UAW. They were certified by the National Labor Relations Board, but Argus has appealed the ruling twice. It is now in appellate court and may not be ruled on for one or two years.

Another issue is the reinstatement of Jan Gala, the union steward, who was fired June 12 for allegedly telling the midnight shift not to come in the next day. The fact is that the entire local had voted to strike.

Gala has since been harassed by telephone calls threatening his life, and was arrested on the picket line.

The strike vote, taken June 2, was prompted by anger over working conditions and speedup. Argus had just brought in "efficiency experts" from Chicago to try to make the workers produce more.

Asked about prospects for the strike, Jan Gala told The Militant, "I think we'll win. The company has spread rumors that they'll close down permanently, but I don't believe it."

The strikers have faced police harassment and an injunction limiting picket lines to two pickets.

CLEVELAND UNION WOMEN ORGANIZE: The two-year-old Cleveland Council of Union Women has dissolved and reconstituted itself as an organizing committee to build a Cleveland-area chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

The action was taken at a meeting June 30. Notices inviting all union women interested in the organization of a chapter of CLUW in Cleveland were mailed to all local unions and central labor bodies in the Cleveland area.

Twenty-nine women from 18 different unions participated in the first organizing committee meeting. They elected a steering committee to serve until a local chapter of CLUW is chartered and officers are elected.

ATTICA BROTHERS WIN PART OF SUIT ON JURY SELECTION: Last May the Attica Brothers Legal Defense Committee filed suit in State Supreme Court in New York charging that jury selection in Erie County was discriminatory. Because the jury selection system discriminated against Blacks, young people, and women, the Attica Brothers pointed out that they could not be tried by a jury of their peers.

Supreme Court Justice Gilbert King ruled in late June that the Erie County jury pool was indeed illegally constituted. King ruled that the Attica Brothers' charge that women and students were excluded by the jury selection system was valid, but that this wasn't true of Blacks and young people.

King's decision means that 110,000 of the 113,000 people in the jury pool have been dismissed. The 3,000 who remain on the list were all selected after Jan. 1 and are eligible according to King. The Attica Brothers Legal Defense Committee had demanded the dismissal of the entire pool.

The remainder of the pool will be used for the Attica trials. Due to administrative procedures, a new jurors' pool can't be selected until September. The first Attica trials are scheduled for Sept. 3.

NAACP CONVENTION MEETS: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People held its national convention in New Orleans over the July 4 holidays. The convention was attended by 3,100 delegates

from across the country.

The majority of the 26 resolutions passed at the gathering were reaffirmations of past positions of the organization. The civil rights organization did decide to focus on four main issues in the coming year: education, employment, housing, and political action.

One of the political campaigns the NAACP plans is to urge Congress to extend the Civil Rights Act of 1965, which expires next year.

During the convention, the group announced that it had received \$500,000 in grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund to aid its suits for integration in the Northern school systems.

CHICANOS DEMAND FREEDOM FOR LOS TRES: Nearly 300 people, mostly Chicano youth, marched through the streets of East Los Angeles June 29 demanding freedom for Los Tres del Barrio. Marchers also protested inflation and the spread of harmful drugs in the community. The action was capped with a rally at Hollenbeck Park.

The National Committee to Free Los Tres, which sponsored the rally, is demanding that the conviction of the three Chicano antidrug activists be reversed. Los Tres were entrapped into a shootout by a police provocateur in 1971 and given long sentences. Their appeal is now before the Supreme Court.

SANITATION STRIKE ENDS IN FRESNO: Sanitation workers in Fresno, Calif., reportedly agreed to return to work July 8 after a militant one-week strike highlighted by defiance of an antipicketing injunction.

The workers, members of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2051, defied arrest by picketing garages where the garbage trucks are housed. On one morning 50 of the strikers were jailed. Released on bond, they immediately returned to the picket line.

The city had originally offered a 9.6 percent pay raise and the union had sought 14 percent. According to newspaper accounts, the strike ended with a 10.7 percent across-the-board increase.

WORCESTER GAYS SCORE INITIAL VICTORY: The Worcester (Mass.) Gay Union scored an initial victory June 17 when the Human Rights Committee of the Worcester city council voted favorably on a petition by the union for an antidiscrimination law protecting gays. The petition will be voted on by the entire council July 16 and if passed will become law. Only nine cities in the United States have passed such laws.

About 60 people attended the hearing on the petition. Among them were representatives of clergy, women's organizations, and the American Civil Liberties Union. More than 20 people spoke, the overwhelming majority in favor of the petition. Norman Chagnon of the Young Socialist Alliance spoke in favor of the petition on behalf of the Massachusetts Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee.

—NORMAN OLIVER

YOUR FIRST ISSUE?

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



What does Watergate show about democracy under capitalism? Has Nixon violated the 'traditional methods' of rule in the U.S.? The Militant features regular analysis of Watergate from a Marxist perspective. Subscribe now.

Introductory offer-\$1/3months

- () \$1 for three months of The Militant.
- () \$2 for three months of The Militant and three months of the International Socialist Review.
- () \$5 for one year of The Militant
- () New () Renewal

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The writing on the stonewall?

Supreme Court ruling & Nixon's fate

By CINDY JAQUITH

Richard Nixon has a lot riding on the upcoming Supreme Court ruling on the Watergate tapes.

On July 8 the Supreme Court justices heard arguments from special prosecutor Leon Jaworski and White House lawyer James St. Clair. The court will rule on whether Nixon must turn over 64 tapes for use as evidence in upcoming Watergate trials. It will also decide whether the Watergate grand jury had the right to name the president as an unindicted co-conspirator.

The July 15 issue of *Time* magazine called the outcome for Nixon "a test that may well prove crucial to his—and the nation's—future." Certainly it could prove decisive in determining the course the capitalist class follows in its attempts to bring an end to Watergate.

What are the options? If the court says Nixon must turn over the tapes, he has two choices. If he gives up the tapes, they are sure to incriminate him further, putting more pressure on Congress to impeach him. If Nixon stalls on compliance, or refuses outright to obey the court's decision, the politicians in Congress will be under heavier pressure to bring him to trial.

But if the justices decide Nixon can keep his tapes secret, the momentum toward impeachment will have been dealt a serious, possibly fatal blow.

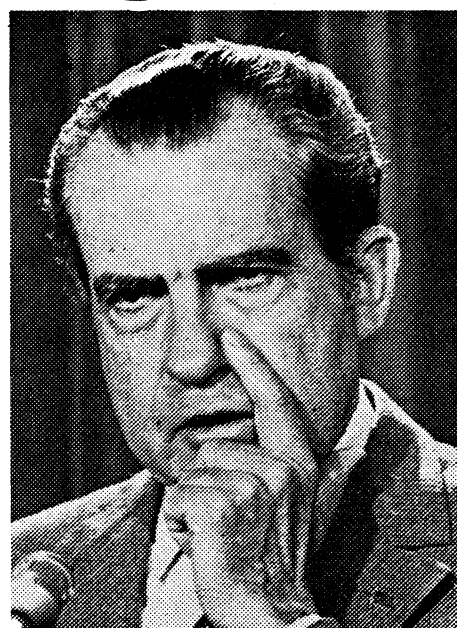
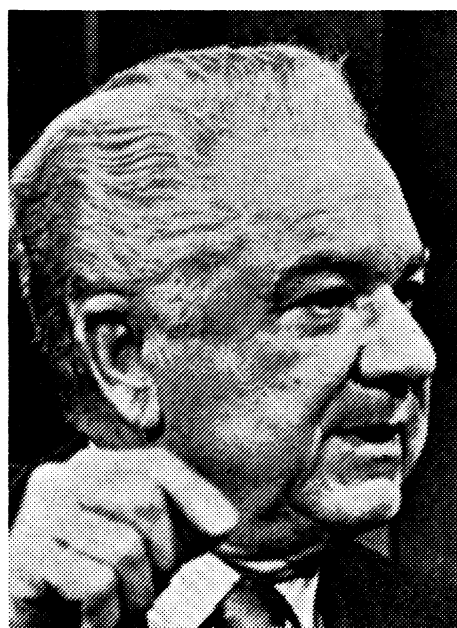
Breathing space

Faced with growing disillusionment with the institutions of bourgeois rule, the capitalists are trying to milk the Supreme Court interlude for all it's worth. They are trying to picture the Supreme Court as a body ruled by legal principles, not politics—in short an institution that can end Watergate.

As *New York Times* columnist James Reston put it, "It has been left now to the courts to rescue this noble tradition . . . to restore 'our faith in the permanency of our national institutions.'"

The politicians on the House impeachment panel, to whom many people initially looked with some confidence, have discredited themselves to a large degree. First they insisted on holding secret hearings; now they are holding back on publishing some of the evidence collected.

The panel has delayed and delayed the deadline for making its recommendation to the House. Procedural hassles and partisan bickering have been used to drag out deliberations,



While special prosecutor Jaworski (left) and White House lawyer St. Clair (right) advance arguments in court, U.S. rulers are weighing alternatives of what to do with Nixon.

while the committee has raised the absurd excuse that it doesn't have "enough evidence" on Nixon yet.

One committee official, for example, told the *New York Times* that "Viewed broadly, in terms of patterns, there is a strong circumstantial case" against Nixon. But, "Viewed narrowly, one issue at a time, it's not that strong."

The fact that the committee would even suggest that there isn't enough evidence to convict Nixon 10 times over says plenty about its concern with "justice." If justice had the slightest relevance to what the impeachment panel is doing, its deliberations over Nixon's guilt would have been over long ago.

Cold feet

The capitalist press has tried to present the delay in impeachment as a product of these politicians' concern over getting reelected in November. But far more serious in their thinking—and their stalling—is the rulers' fear of the alternatives facing them at this point.

"The capital," wrote James Reston June 30, "is loitering along these days in an atmosphere of fatigue, restlessness, frustration and recrimination. It is not composing its differences but polarizing its politics and skirmishing ineffectively on a dozen fronts at the same time."

The pressure of its imminent decision, Reston continued, has made Congress feel "confused and trapped, startled by the evidence for impeachment but frightened by the conse-

quences of conviction."

As things stood July 4, wrote James Naughton in the *New York Times*, "There was little doubt, as the committee recessed its inquiry for the long Independence Day weekend, that a majority eventually would recommend that Nixon be impeached."

"But how the panel reaches that recommendation—and on what basis—figures to influence heavily the actions taken later by the full House and, if Mr. Nixon is impeached, by the Senate."

If Congress fails to convict Nixon in the face of the overwhelming evidence of his guilt, the spreading crisis of confidence in capitalist institutions will accelerate.

On the other hand, the unprecedented move of ousting a president from office—even when done through the "proper channels" of Congress—will have a deep impact on the political consciousness in the country.

While it is hard to deny that these political questions are guiding the thinking of the impeachment panel, the bourgeoisie would like the American people to believe that the Supreme Court's decision will be strictly divorced from politics. Reston, for example, wrote July 10 that "In this general mood of recrimination, the courts are the one cool spot in town."

The *Christian Science Monitor* editors wrote the same day that with the Supreme Court's entrance into the fray, "the American public could feel a new assurance that the law—so often ignored or defied in high places recently—was going to be upheld here

with wisdom and determination."

The editors were peddling the old myth that "the law" is somehow artificially suspended above the real world of politics, and that the courts are impartial arbiters of justice. In reality, the whole legal set-up is merely an arm of the capitalist system. Just as the members of the House impeachment panel are not deciding matters by whether Nixon is guilty or not—but by the political mood of the country and the needs of the capitalist rulers—so the Supreme Court will be basing its decision on the political issues at stake and the current climate of public opinion.

And that climate doesn't seem to be improving from Nixon's point of view. The latest damning revelation is the House Judiciary Committee's publication of its own version of the Nixon tapes. Theirs differs sharply from the official White House version.

Virtually every page of the sanitized White House version contains either changes in wording or deletions, the impeachment panel found.

The most brazen "editing" job discovered thus far is on the March 22, 1973, conversation. The White House staff deleted 16 pages of this discussion of the cover-up plan. One of the excised passages contains the following advice from Nixon to John Mitchell on how to get around the Watergate investigation:

"I want you all to stonewall it, let them plead the Fifth Amendment, cover-up or anything else, if it'll save it—save the plan. That's the whole point."

Ex-agent exposes CIA assassinations

Local operatives for the CIA in Latin America have a short life expectancy—the agency makes a practice of assassinating them after their assignments are completed. This was recently disclosed by a former CIA agent, Philip Agee, who has written a book about his experiences.

Agee did undercover work for the CIA from 1956 to 1969, serving in Mexico, Ecuador, and Uruguay, among other places. He also has firsthand knowledge of U.S. operations against Cuba.

According to an article by Seymour Hersh in the July 9 *New York Times*, Agee says "he also was involved in the assassination of locally employed C.I.A. agents, known in the agency

as contract employees. . . .

"At least one such killing, Mr. Agee is known to have related, involved the use of a truck to run over a recently utilized local C.I.A. operative whose mission had been completed."

"Such allegations about the C.I.A.'s operations in Latin America and elsewhere have been widely rumored for years," Hersh noted.

Agee's revelations also substantiate another charge—that the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development works in collusion with the CIA in Latin America. During part of his service, Agee was "employed" by this AFL-CIO arm as a cover for his activities.

Clearly a prime objective of the CIA



CIA's goal in Latin America, said ex-agent, is to maintain 'great wealth for a few and widespread poverty.'

in the 1960s was the attempted overthrow of the Cuban revolution and the prevention of revolutions in other parts of the Caribbean or Latin America. "What we did in Latin America and what we do in so many other countries of the third world is similar to what the United States did in Vietnam," Agee told the Associated Press. The CIA's goal, he said, is to uphold regimes "which perpetuate great wealth for a few and widespread poverty."

Agee's book is to be published this fall in London. He is also seeking a U.S. publisher, and expects the CIA to interfere with attempts to print the book. The American Civil Liberties Union is prepared to defend him.

Watergate & American politics-I

Roots of the ruling class's dilemma

By LARRY SEIGLE

What are the roots of the Watergate scandal? Why did it erupt when it did? Is Watergate a result of the Nixon administration's particular methods of governing, or is it a product of something deeper?

These questions are being discussed and debated throughout the country as the House Judiciary Committee proceeds with its impeachment inquiry, and Nixon continues to try to "stone-wall" his way through 1976.

For those who are working to bring about a socialist America, there is an additional set of questions: How should socialists take advantage of the opportunities presented by the Watergate revelations? How can the difficulties facing the ruling class be used to advance the fight for the democratic rights of the American people? And how can the lessons of Watergate be used to help convince the American working class and its allies to break from the policy of relying on the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties?

These questions of strategy have provoked extensive discussions between all the radical groups in the United States. From the beginning, this debate has included the question of what stand socialists should take on the impeachment of Nixon by Congress. And from the beginning, the Socialist Workers Party has taken the position, virtually unique among radical groups, of opposing attempts to channel the outrage at the Watergate crimes into a campaign built around the axis of pressuring Congress to impeach Nixon. In this and following articles, we will look at the issues underlying this debate over Watergate.

Social forces at work

The way to begin our analysis is to "de-Nixonize" Watergate. The problems Nixon and the other capitalist politicians face as a result of the Watergate revelations can be characterized as a *crisis of confidence* on the part of millions of people in the methods and institutions of bourgeois rule. But this phenomenon didn't begin with Nixon, or with the Watergate scandal.

The liberals' fairy tale has it that Watergate erupted because the *Washington Post* and Sam Ervin suddenly "found out" that Nixon is a crook. But, as we will show in this first article, what is really involved are social and political forces on a world scale that have undermined Nixon's capacity to serve the needs of the rulers who selected him to be president.

The crisis of confidence has its roots in the government's "credibility gap," which grew up during the 1960s as a result of the exposure of the endless string of lies fed to the American people about the Vietnam war.

This distrust of the government grew rapidly among sectors of society that had already begun to be politically sensitized as a result of the massive civil rights struggles of the late 1950s and early 1960s. A layer of Blacks and a sector of college students were radicalized as a result of their participation in the civil rights movement. For the Afro-American masses, the distrust of the government grew even deeper with the massive ghetto rebellions that hit city after city in the 1960s.

The rejection of the official "facts" about Vietnam and of the motives offered by the war-makers increased as the human and economic toll of the war mounted, and as the antiwar movement grew into a massive force that itself further legitimized opposition to the war and the questioning



GIs in Vietnam. 'Credibility gap' that grew up during the war has continued to widen despite end of direct U.S. combat role.

of imperialist objectives in Vietnam.

As the radicalization spread, millions of Americans became disillusioned in the government—from the politicians in Washington to the local city councils. They also became disillusioned in the two major political parties, in bourgeois morality, religion, the schools and universities, and other bulwarks of the capitalist social order.

This deepgoing radicalization affected the entire country. Widespread opposition to the war, and the massive antiwar movement, were undermining the power of U.S. imperialism to impose its will on the peoples of Indochina. In fact, this process was already so deep in 1968 that Lyndon Johnson was confronted with an unprecedented problem: he found it politically impossible to run for a second term in the White House. (Nixon is, in reality, the *second* president to fall victim to the effects of the Vietnam war.) The antiwar opposition drove Johnson from Washington into forced retirement.

This mass sentiment against the war, coupled with the determined and heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, put limits on the ability of the imperialists to continue their brutal military aggression in Vietnam. Washington was compelled to substitute a diplomatic deal imposed on Indochina for its earlier aim of smashing militarily the national liberation movements.

To enforce this deal, Nixon needed the cooperation of Moscow and Peking, who alone could apply the required pressure to persuade the Vietnamese rebels to accept the terms. Turning toward détente with Peking and Moscow, Nixon bought their cooperation with promises of credits and trade deals.

But the imperialists had made fundamental miscalculations on Vietnam. They had arrogantly believed they could smash that tiny country to smithereens. But they underestimated 1) the capacity of the revolutionary masses to stand up to even the most horrendous military onslaught; and 2) the extent of the resistance the American people would offer to their bloody war.

Victory being blocked, Washington opted for the Paris accords deal that would leave an imperialist foothold in South Vietnam and end direct U.S. combat involvement. But the war had already dragged on too long. *The*

political, social, and economic processes the war had set into motion at home had deepened to the point where they could not be definitively reversed, even when the impetus of the war was removed.

No sooner did the American rulers succeed in extricating themselves from the Vietnam quagmire than the crisis of confidence, which they had hoped would go away, spread even further. And it continued to haunt them under the name "Watergate."

Economic changes

One of the effects of Vietnam was on the economy. War spending primed inflation, which canceled out whatever wage increases people were able to win. At the same time the war budget mushroomed. The government spent billions on bombs, helicopters, and jet aircraft, while it cut back on spending for social needs at home.

These strains on the standard of living of working families were further increased with the inauguration of Nixon's "New Economic Policy" in August 1971. This ruling-class offensive, which took the form of an enforced lid on wages, combined with phony price controls, was the beginning of a major assault on the living standards and the quality of life of the American working class.

This attack, which is continuing to this day, is designed to preserve advantages for U.S. capitalism in its never-ending rivalry with Europe and Japan. The capitalist rulers are faced with an intensification of international competition and the end of the prolonged boom of the decades following World War II. The bourgeoisie in the U.S., like its counterparts in the other major industrial powers, has no choice but to attack the real wages, working conditions, and rights of the working class in order to improve its position in the world market.

Era of social peace?

Nixon and the other capitalist rulers had hoped that the conclusion of the "peace" in Vietnam would lead to an era of social peace at home, an era in which the radicalization could not only be slowed down, but decisively rolled back. In this hope, however, they have been sadly disappointed.

It is true that there has been a decline in the nationwide mass actions and protests that reached their peak during the period of the war, and a

downturn in protests on the campuses, which had been a central factor in the antiwar movement and other struggles. But, at the same time, there has been a continuing erosion of the confidence of the American working people in the government and other capitalist institutions.

The capitalist class is incapable of making the kind of sweeping economic concessions or improvements in the quality of life that could have the effect of restoring trust in the institutions of bourgeois rule. In fact, far from renewing confidence, the succession of crises, sudden shortages, and economic dislocations since the end of the Vietnam war has produced deeper questioning on the part of millions.

The continued failure to do anything to alleviate the economic conditions and racial oppression confronting Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans has been brutally clear under Nixon.

Events such as the meat shortage and the energy crisis, and the skyrocketing inflation, have raised new doubts in the minds of many working people about the ability of the existing system to meet their needs.

'Winter of Discontent'

The degree of disillusionment was graphically described by *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis in his April 15, 1974, column, entitled "Winter of Discontent." The column reported the results of a recent public opinion survey conducted by pollster Patrick Caddell.

"Most people," Caddell found, "believe they have lived through the high point of the American journey."

Lewis continues: "Caddell says there was a sharp break in feelings and expectations just a year ago, as the Watergate story broke open. But he thinks Watergate has had a significance beyond its own subject, triggering latent doubts and fears created by Vietnam and inflation and other problems. 'Watergate has been the intensifier,' he says."

Caddell's polls show that the number of people who agree with the statement, "What you think doesn't count with people in power anymore," grew from 37 percent eight years ago to 61 percent today. And those who agree that "people running the country really don't care what happens to people like you" jumped from 22 percent to 55 percent over the same time span.



Effects of Vietnam war drove Johnson back to the ranch. Will Nixon be compelled to follow in his footsteps?

Vietnam veterans hold July 4 protests in Washington, D.C.

By RICH ROBOHM

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Veterans and their supporters from all over the country converged here July 1-4 for a series of protests against government policies.

Two to three thousand people took part in the July 4 march from the Lincoln Memorial to the Ellipse behind the White House, organized by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO).

The VVAW/WSO set up a base of operations on the Mall near the Capitol on July 1. For the next three days they staged protests at the Veterans Administration (VA), the U.S. Court of Military Appeals, the Justice Department, the Capitol, and the White House.

The VVAW/WSO actions were called on the basis of the following demands: "universal and unconditional amnesty [for war resisters], implementation of the [1972] Paris Peace Accords, the end of all aid to Thieu and Lon Nol, a single-type discharge and decent benefits for all veterans, and the removal of Nixon from office."

In another July 4 demonstration 200 people, led by a contingent of disabled Vietnam veterans, marched two miles from Malcolm X (Meridian Hill) Park to Lafayette Park, across the street from the White House. This protest, which included a rally in Lafayette Park, focused on the demand to "end the disgraceful conditions in all Veterans Administration hospitals." It was sponsored by the Second American Bonus March Coalition.

The Bonus March Coalition includes the Black Servicemen's Caucus, the National Congress of Puerto Rican Veterans, the National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights, the American GI Forum, and the American Veterans Movement. Veterans and members of each organization spoke at the rally, in addition to a member of the United Farm Workers of America.

Tony Gallegos, National Chairman of the American GI Forum, an orga-



VIETNAM VETS: 'Our problem is right here.'

Militant/Eric Simpson

nization of Chicano and other Spanish-speaking veterans, pointed out, "There is no peace until we have peace in terms of employment, in terms of education, peace in terms of homes for our people and peace of mind for our veterans."

Speaking for the National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights, Angel Amedina insisted, "Our problem's not in Indochina; our problem's not in Europe; our problem's not in Israel; our problem's right here."

The veterans who joined in these demonstrations are bitter about their treatment at the hands of the government that sent them to fight in Vietnam.

Bill Unger, a founder of the American Veterans Movement, described some of his experiences. He was injured twice while serving as a Marine Corps corporal in Vietnam. Although he walks with a cane and suffers from epilepsy as a result of service-related injuries, he had to wait six years before receiving any benefits from the VA.

The VA fired Unger from his job "because they said I was totally disabled." However, his VA check is based on 40 percent disability. It comes to only \$106 a month.

Funds for education from the VA

are no better. Unger received \$135 a month while going to school, and education benefits for a married veteran have since been raised to \$220 a month. Even so, the checks do not come close to covering the soaring cost of a college education, and thousands of these benefit checks arrive late or not at all.

Another ex-Marine interviewed on the march, Mike Oliver, suffered seven injuries in Southeast Asia. Mike carries a chunk of metal from Vietnam in his backbone, for which he was "treated" at the VA hospital in Prescott, Ariz.

One doctor ordered heat therapy to alleviate spasms of his spinal muscles. After enduring a week of "terrible headaches and shooting pains up the spine," Mike decided to see the ward doctor.

"We went to see the orthopedic doctor first. I told him that I had metal in my spine and he had a fit. He said, 'All we've been doing is heating that metal up and burning more nerves in the spinal area.' I have a bad leg now and I walk with a cane. I'm 100 percent disabled, and I get \$28 a month from the VA for a family of seven."

Oliver filed a claim for 100 percent

Continued on page 26

A second, far more extensive, survey done by Daniel Yankelovich, Inc., for some of the major ruling-class foundations shows that these same views are even more widespread among both college and working youth.

The Yankelovich survey found that ideas and values that were primarily based among college students in the late 1960s are now held by noncollege youth, too. Among the "New Values" that are no longer restricted to the campuses but are characteristic of young people in the factories and other workplaces are the following:

- "Changes in sexual morality in the direction of more liberal sexual mores";

- "Changes in relation to the authority of institutions such as the authority of law, the police, the government, the boss . . . in the direction of what sociologists call 'deauthorization,' i.e., a lessening of automatic obedience to, and respect for, established authority";

- "Changes in traditional concepts of patriotism and in automatic allegiance to 'my country right or wrong.'"

Among "minority" youth, Yankelovich found, "the prevailing view is that this is a sick society (55%) and not democratic (76%)."

Overall, more than 60 percent of young people "believe that the society is democratic in name only. They believe that 'special interests' run the political machinery of the nation, with little true participation by the mass of American citizens. . . . Criticism of business and political parties has grown by leaps and bounds in the past few years, especially among non-college youth."

What 'Watergate' signifies

These polls highlight an important point, and one that has to be understood before we can arrive at the answers to the questions of political orientation we posed earlier. What has come to be referred to as "Watergate"—used in the broadest sense—is in reality a stage in the growth of the difficulties facing U.S. imperialism today, marked by a decline in its ability to crush revolutionary upsurges (as in Vietnam) and the end of the extended post-World War II economic boom. It is also a stage in the process of the radicalization of the American people, marked by a growing divergence between the expectations and aspirations of the masses of working people and the ability of the capitalist system to meet these needs.

Thus, the roots of what is called "Watergate" lie more in Vietnam and in the declining capacities of American capitalism than in CREEP's crude and ill-fated break-in at the headquarters of the Democratic national committee.

But if the picture painted by Yankelovich and others of the mood of the American workers is accurate, how can we explain the landslide victory for Nixon in the 1972 presidential elections? Didn't that election show massive support for Nixon and his policies?

In our next article, we will look at the myth of Nixon's 1972 "mandate." And we will see how the Watergate cover-up, in which not only the White House but the entire ruling class participated for almost an entire year, began to unravel under the impact of economic pressures on the American working people and political events that reflected the generalized crisis of confidence in the institutions of capitalist rule.

Life in a federal 'Watergate prison'

By BAXTER SMITH

"Goodbye, Bud. Say hello to everybody outside and have fun. We'll miss ya."

That Bud's all right. A sucker for Colson, but not a bad guy. Well, I'd better get ready for this tennis lesson I gotta give at one. Then maybe I'll sneak in some horseback riding this afternoon. Then, let's see, what'll I do this evening . . . oh, by golly, Gail said she'd be coming by.

Jeb Stuart Magruder, CREEP's former deputy campaign director, is presently serving a 10-month sentence at the federal prison camp in Allenwood, Pa., for his involvement in the Watergate cover-up.

He gets to give tennis lessons; he has a cushy desk job; and he can receive daily visits from his wife (Gail), family, and friends. Not long ago he bade goodbye to Egil "Bud" Krogh, who was doing time for lying to a grand jury.

Magruder and Krogh are two of the Watergate convicts who wound up in what have come to be known as the "Watergate Prisons."

These minimum-security, "white-

collar" prisons—the one in Allenwood, and the other in Lompoc, Calif.—are a far cry from the brutality of the Atticas and the San Quentins, where most Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos usually wind up.

Designed as "humane incarceration" for "nonviolent" confidence men, bunko artists, and tax evaders, they have been found by Watergaters to be a pleasant home away from home—a place to while away a few weeks' time.

A hard day's work at these prisons can mean "refining a chip shot, necking with female visitors, avoiding tennis elbow and putting on a deep tan," reports the July 15 *Newsweek*.

In the bunk next to Magruder sleeps a recent candidate for governor of New Jersey, D. Louis Tonti; and former U.S. Representative Cornelius Gallagher works in the prison library.

Life at Lompoc is said to be not as rough as at Allenwood. Convicts there can look forward to playing on a nine-hole golf course or blasting off a driving range. There is also a tennis court, two

handball courts, a quarter-mile jogging track, and an area for nude sunbathing.

Obliging prison officials will even turn their backs if you want to light up some marijuana. Donald Segretti, one of the Watergaters who was there, has said: "It's tolerated to some degree."

Newsweek says that Lompoc "looks more like a college campus than a prison. Its relatively few unarmed guards are clad in sky-blue blazers and double-knit gray slacks, and there are neither walls nor fences around it."

Unarmed guards? Neither walls nor fences!

What a contrast to a prison like Attica, which has 50-foot-high walls, and gun towers with guards perched behind machine guns. And where prisoners had to revolt in 1971 to bring attention to their needs but were cut down like ducks in a rifle range.

Segretti said that federal prison officials are worried about the cozy treatment the Watergaters are getting. He said "They're afraid somebody is going to cry foul."

FOUL!

National Education Association meets

Teachers discuss fight to defend

By CINDY JAQUITH

CHICAGO — Across the country teachers are confronted with cutbacks, deteriorating schools, layoffs, inflation, and strikebreaking by the government—their employer. Teachers' views are changing in response to these problems, and these changes were reflected here during the June 28-July 3 Representative Assembly of the National Education Association (NEA).

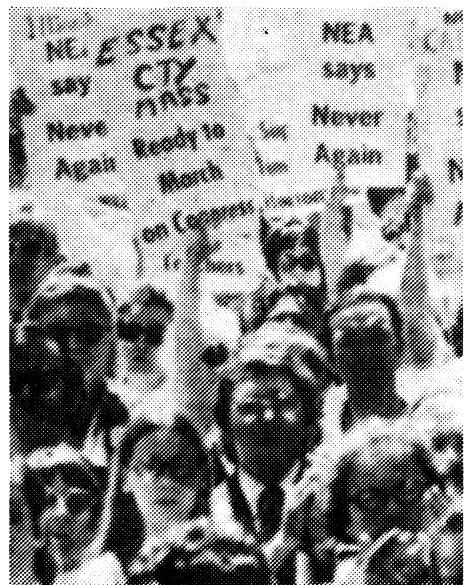
A total of 11,652 people attended this convention, 9,729 of them delegates. With a membership of 1.5 million, the NEA is the largest teacher organization in the country. The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) has 400,000 members, and another one million teachers are not yet organized.

Evolution of NEA

Founded in 1857, the NEA was until recently a "strictly professional," loosely organized association. It did not engage in strikes or seek collective bargaining rights. School administrators, who are still members of the NEA in many areas, dominated policy.

In the recent period, however, teachers have found it necessary to become better organized and adopt new, militant methods of struggle—including strikes—to defend their living standards and conditions of work. The pressure of these objective needs of teachers has begun to transform the NEA. In a growing number of areas it now functions as a union of teachers.

The NEA is now the bargaining agent for 3,500 affiliates and for another 500 merged NEA-AFT affiliates. During the past year, the NEA ini-



Thousands of NEA delegates turned out for rally in support of striking teachers in Timberlane, N.H., and Hortonville, Wis.

tiated 117 of the 140 teacher strikes that took place.

The NEA has joined the Coalition of American Public Employees (CAPE), which also includes the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and the National Treasury Employees Union. And NEA affiliates have merged with AFT locals in several cities, including New York, New Orleans, and Los Angeles.

Although the AFT is smaller in total numbers, it has become the recognized bargaining agent in several important cities, such as Washington, D.C., Detroit, Chicago, and Philadelphia.

The changing character of the NEA and the growth of both organizations has led to a sharpening competition for members.



Cops attack striking Hortonville, Wis., NEA members. Teachers fighting for rights have increasingly found themselves in direct confrontation with government.

A positive step toward overcoming this competition was taken at last year's NEA Representative Assembly, when delegates voted to open national merger talks with the AFT. But the talks broke off this February, and at this year's assembly, it was decided not to reopen negotiations on merger for the present time.

Attacks on teachers

Although merger was put on the back burner, other measures were adopted at this year's NEA assembly to help fight the growing attacks on teachers, especially attacks on the right to strike.

Thousands of delegates wore buttons in solidarity with striking NEA members in Hortonville, Wis., and Timberlane, N.H.

In both Hortonville and Timberlane, the NEA affiliates went on strike after the school boards refused to meet contract demands. The teachers were fired and scabs were brought in. Despite considerable support for the teachers, the boards clearly intend to sit out the strikes if possible and decisively break the local NEA affiliates.

A sign of the changing attitudes in the NEA was the overwhelming support for the Hortonville and Timberlane teachers.

While a few delegates expressed opposition to strikes, measures to increase NEA support to striking members passed with large margins. The 1973 resolution on strikes, for example, was revised to denounce the jailing and fining of teachers on strike, and to condemn the crossing of teachers' picket lines. During the floor discussion, Jean Larson of Hortonville stressed the importance of the NEA cracking down on members who scab on fellow teachers.

Another resolution was passed making it NEA policy to provide financial assistance to members who are on strike.

Collective bargaining

Delegates saw the problem of strikes as related to the need to eliminate laws against collective bargaining or strikes by public employees. There was widespread support for a national collective bargaining bill that would wipe away such laws.

However, a bill in Congress favored by the leadership of the NEA, House Resolution 8677, which the Coalition of American Public Employees is supporting, leaves much to be desired. While recognizing in part the right of public employees to collective bargaining, the bill gives the government a handle by banning strikes where there is alleged to be "a danger to the public health or safety," the excuse tradi-

tionally used to force public employees back to work.

Although the experiences of Hortonville and Timberlane pushed the strike issue to the fore at the NEA gathering, delegates were also concerned with other problems they face on the job.

Many teachers told *The Militant* that oversized classes are a number-one problem. Since enrollment in public schools is declining, school administrators have often resorted to combining classes under one teacher.

Teachers' real income is shrinking. According to NEA research, average annual salaries for instructional staff increased only 4.9 percent during the 1973-74 school year. The Consumer Price Index, however, rose by 10.7 percent. The NEA's list of "salary goals" includes "a cost of living adjustment, based upon consumer price index."

Layoffs and suspensions are hitting teachers due to budget cuts and reduced enrollment. One delegate from New Jersey told *The Militant* that there are five applicants for every opening in her school district.

Racism in education

The fight for decent education in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, under the control of those communities, is one of the most important issues teachers must grapple with. The future of the teachers' unions depends on forging an alliance with the community forces struggling for these demands.

The NEA delegates passed or reaffirmed several resolutions that take positive stands on these issues, over the opposition of most of the New York state delegation, which was led by Albert Shanker.

The New York delegates are members of both the NEA and the AFT, as a result of merger in 1972. Shanker, president of the New York City local of the merged organization, wields tremendous power. This is due to a "unit voting" rule, which gives all the delegate seats from New York City to whichever slate wins a majority there. Shanker's policies dominated the 1,300-person delegation from the state.

The majority of the NEA supported resolutions for "affirmative action plans that establish procedures and timetables for eliminating racism and sexism in the curriculum" and for preferential hiring where necessary "to overcome past discrimination." Other resolutions adopted called for decentralization and elected local school boards in large cities, for busing to help end race discrimination, and for increased funding of bilingual and

multicultural programs.

These stands run counter to Shanker's policy, which has been to uphold the racist status quo in the public schools. Shanker has sought to divide teachers from the community and to portray demands by Blacks and Puerto Ricans as a threat to teachers' well-being.

Most recently he has waged a campaign against the demand for community control by Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents in New York's District 1. In 1968, he led the city's teachers on a strike against the right of Black and Puerto Rican parents to decide such issues as curriculum and the hiring and firing of school personnel.

Shanker's supporters at the NEA convention also opposed the reaffirmation of the NEA quota system guaranteeing Blacks and other minorities representation on leadership bodies. Twenty percent of the NEA membership is Black, and the increased number of Black delegates this year was in part due to quotas.

Shanker is so opposed to this quota arrangement—which threatens the preservation of the white job trust for teachers in New York City—that he is planning a suit to overturn this aspect of the NEA constitution.

The Shanker forces also view affirmative action for women as "discrimination in reverse." Nevertheless, the NEA assembly passed several resolutions backing the fight for women's rights, and also adopted a measure opposing discrimination against gay teachers.

Federal funding

The need for increased government educational spending—not more cutbacks—echoed continuously on the convention floor. The federal share of school funding at the present time is a mere 7 percent. The NEA calls for at least 33 percent of education funds to come from the federal government, and opposes "the excessive reliance on property taxes." Forty-nine states depend on property taxes for most of their school money. These taxes hit working people the hardest and ensure that the poorest communities get the least funds.

The fact that inadequate funding, layoffs, class size, and other problems are also faced by teachers in the AFT points to the need for a united struggle by teachers. Yet merger talks appear to be stalemated for the time being.

At the NEA assembly, delegates reaffirmed overwhelmingly the three conditions under which merger with the AFT would be agreeable to them:

- "No affiliation with the AFL-CIO and no obligation to the institutional



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

NEA convention voted to uphold quotas guaranteeing Blacks and other minorities representation on leadership bodies.

jobs, salaries & schools

positions and objectives of the AFL-CIO;

- "Guaranteed minority group participation in the governance and operation of the new organization;
- "The use of the secret ballot to elect the officers and change the governing documents of the new organization."

Supporters of Shanker, organized in the "Unity Caucus," opposed the three-point merger program and called for the immediate resumption of merger talks. But the vast majority of NEA delegates wanted nothing to do with "unity" Shanker-style. Outside of New York the Unity Caucus had only a few supporters.

Hypocrisy

Shanker's claim to be for "unity" is laden with hypocrisy. Outgoing NEA president Helen Wise pointed this out in her speech. "For the past six months the NEA has been most vigorously attacked by those who say they want to be a part of us. . . . You have all read the half-truths, innuendoes, and misinformation which have been passed out to our members in the name of 'unity,'" she said, referring to the slick brochures printed up by the Unity Caucus for the assembly.

In addition to planning a suit against the NEA constitution, the Shanker forces have been conducting raiding operations against the NEA. Their call for "unity" is in fact only a maneuver to aid the process of chipping away NEA members and affiliates wherever possible.

Moreover, Shanker's concept of unity is unity around his reactionary program, not unity to help advance the struggle of teachers. Aware that he is unpopular among NEA members, particularly Blacks, Shanker did not even take the floor at this year's assembly, having undergone a blistering attack for his racist views at last year's gathering.

But just as Shanker's two-faced stand only helps to turn teachers away from unity, the NEA officials have also failed to provide the kind of leadership that would make genuine unity possible in the near future. Helen Wise, for example, put forward the mistaken idea in her speech that to answer Shanker's arguments would be "to waste our time . . . because we have more important things to do. . . ."

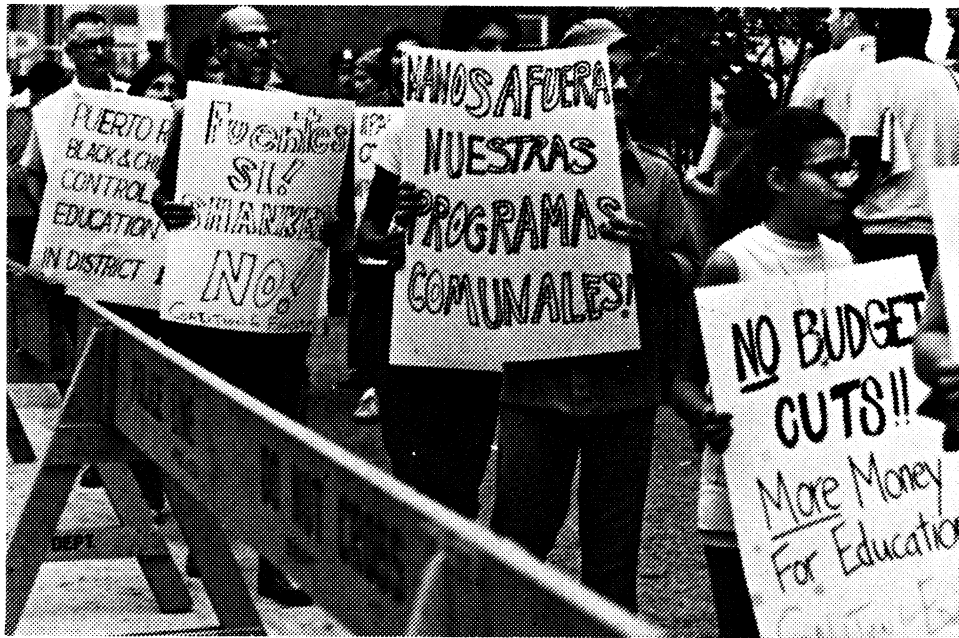
New NEA president James Harris, who is the first Black man to head the organization, also dismissed merger now, saying, "It is important that the NEA maintain its independence. We must remain strictly a professional organization."

But the issues raised by merger will not go away, nor is the NEA so big that it can escape the need to ally itself with other working people.

In fact, a sign of the growing recognition that teachers do need allies was the last-minute passage of a proposal to open talks with other public employee groups about forming a national public employee organization. This motion was in part the NEA leadership's answer to Shanker's talk of unity.

The discussion around unity at the assembly focused mainly on the question of affiliation with the AFL-CIO, which the AFT belongs to. This discussion revealed some of the weaknesses of the NEA.

The reluctance of most NEA members to become part of the AFL-CIO is in large part an indictment of the conservative policies of the Meany leadership, with which Shanker, as an AFL-CIO vice-president, is closely al-



Militant/Michael Baumann

New York District 1 fight for control of education by oppressed communities has been viciously opposed by Albert Shanker. At NEA gathering, Shanker's racist attitudes were repudiated.

lied. Repelled by the corruption and bureaucracy in the AFL-CIO officialdom, NEA members simply do not believe this labor federation will ever fight for their interests. They think they have a better chance by "going it alone."

'Professionalism'

The conservatism of Meany is only part of the story, however. Another important factor is that the education system ingrains in teachers the idea that they are "professionals" and therefore "better" than other working people.

While teacher "professionalism" has the positive aspect of concern with the quality of education, the "professional" label is largely a trick, as more and more teachers are discovering. Stephen Jacobs, an NEA delegate from Missouri, told *The Militant*:

"Sometimes you're a professional and sometimes you're a worker. They play both ends against you. When it comes to pay, you're a worker. When it comes to the performance they expect, you're a professional."

School administrators tell teachers that it's "unprofessional" to go on strike and "unprofessional" to join a union.

Hand-in-hand with this argument is another concept that pits teachers against working people. One delegate, speaking against affiliation with the AFL-CIO, said unity between teachers and trade unionists will never work, because "as workers they understand that our salaries come out of their

tax dollars."

But why should working people be forced to foot the bill for education, or teachers be forced to forego salary increases? The real guilty party is neither teachers demanding higher pay nor working people fed up with soaring taxes. The giant corporations should be taxed to meet the cost of education, and federal funds, instead of being wasted on military expenditures, should be used to build more schools and hire more teachers.

This will become clear to more and more teachers as they find themselves confronted with rising prices, slashed school funds, and government attacks on their rights. As the Timberlane and Hortonville teachers have found, support from the union movement will become increasingly important.

Independent political action

Merger with the AFT, of course, is not the ultimate solution to teachers' problems. A course of independent political action around the demands of teachers is crucial, and neither the AFT nor the NEA leadership have offered such a course.

At this year's assembly, the NEA delegates did decide to become more active in politics. Most of the discussion, however, focused on electing a "veto-proof" Congress—that is, more Democrats—and endorsing a presidential candidate in 1976.

But as long as teachers rely on the promises of the Democrats and Republicans in Congress, or a candidate of one of these capitalist parties for president, money for education will continue to be on the bottom of the list. These politicians represent the interests of big business, not the interests of teachers and students. They are no more "friends of education" than they are "friends of labor."

Another idea mentioned at the NEA convention, however, does point the way toward the kind of action that can win teacher demands. This was the idea of a march on Washington, D.C., around such demands as collective bargaining rights and more federal funding. No plans were mapped to organize such a march, although the idea was popular among many delegates.

This is the type of independent action that could force the government to meet some of teachers' demands. Through such a struggle, teachers could unite with students, parents, and other working people to take the fight for decent schools a big step forward.

Special Militant on teachers

At the NEA Representative Assembly, 1,031 copies of the July 5 *Militant* were sold. Delegates were particularly interested in the five-page feature section on issues facing teachers, with articles on Albert Shanker's suit against NEA minority quotas, an analysis of what NEA-AFT merger has meant in New York, and how teachers can fight cutbacks, layoffs, and racism in the schools.

Copies of this issue are still available and will be of special interest to students, teachers, and community activists. To order, send 25 cents per copy to the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

Lawton defense fights third trial

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—Authorities in Riverside, Calif., are pressing ahead toward a third frame-up trial of Gary Lawton and Zurebu Gardner. The two Black men are accused of killing two white cops in April 1971.

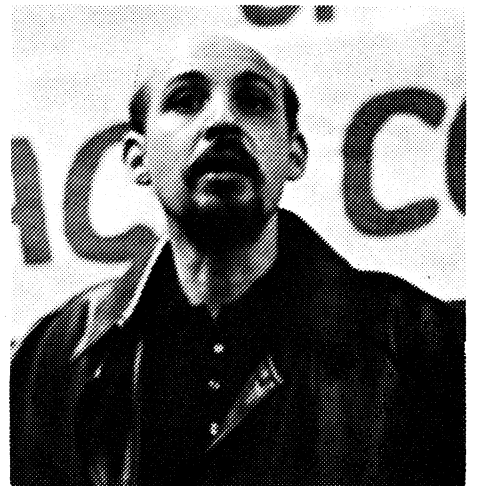
The prosecution, despite the use of provocateurs, informers, and racist demagoguery, was unable to get a conviction from two predominantly white juries.

In a new attempt at harassment, the Riverside County grand jury has subpoenaed the two defense attorneys, Franklin Glenn and Len Holt, and a local newspaper reporter. The attorneys had been quoted as accusing the district attorney of wasting hundreds of thousands of dollars on a trial that is a blatant frame-up while the real killers are still loose.

District Attorney Byron Morton used this statement as an excuse to haul the attorneys into court to answer questions regarding whatever information they may have that would lead them to believe the "real killers" are loose.

The Southern California American Civil Liberties Union has moved to quash the subpoenas. The ACLU says that the subpoenas are nothing more than an attempt by the district attorney to undermine the work of the defense through legal harassment.

The court has also turned down a pretrial motion by civil liberties lawyer William Kunstler to drop the trial.



Militant/Harry Ring

Gary Lawton, frame-up victim

Kunstler argued that third trials are almost unheard-of except in the case of Blacks.

But persistent efforts by the defense to expose the use of police surveillance have begun to bear fruit. Under questioning by defense attorneys June 21, an agent of the California Department of Justice admitted that electronic surveillance was used with the cooperation of Riverside authorities in connection with the case.

The agent refused to fully explain the nature of the surveillance. This testimony, however, inadequate as it is, gives the lie to the prosecution's contention that no surveillance was ever used.

Defense committee activists, meanwhile, are circulating petitions in Riverside demanding no third trial. There will be a public turn-in of the signatures July 22. The committee is also asking supporters to pack the courtroom July 29 in solidarity with the defendants when the third trial is scheduled to begin.

For further information and to obtain petitions, contact: Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee, P. O. Box 244, Riverside, Calif. 92502, or call (714) 682-3486.

AFSCME delegates map continued drive to organize the unorganized

By RAY MARKEY

HONOLULU—A continuing drive to organize the unorganized was a central theme of the recent convention of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

Seventeen hundred delegates gathered here June 10-14 for AFSCME's twentieth international convention.

AFSCME is the fastest-growing union in the AFL-CIO. Since its last

Ray Markey was a delegate to the AFSCME convention from Local 1930, New York Library Guild.

convention two years ago in Houston it has grown from 540,000 to 675,000 members—an increase equivalent to the total size of many other AFL-CIO affiliates.

The keynote speech by AFSCME President Jerry Wurf emphasized continuing the organizing drive. A proposal to increase monthly per capita dues from \$1.50 to \$1.80 this October and to \$2.15 in 1976 was motivated on this basis and met with relatively little opposition.

At last year's AFL-CIO convention, AFSCME submitted a resolution noting that from 1950 to 1972 union membership had declined from 35.5 percent to 26.7 percent of the work force, and calling for a campaign to organize the unorganized. This was voted down by the George Meany gang in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller also addressed the AFSCME convention on this point. He said that while some unions have grown in numbers, "overall we are



United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller: 'Bring every working man and woman in this country under the union banner.'



1,700 delegates attended national convention of AFSCME, the fastest-growing union in AFL-CIO.

losing ground."

"A union which forgets the brothers and sisters who work without the protection of a union contract will soon forget those who pay their union dues as well," Miller said.

"Organizing drives gave birth to the labor movement and our greatest victories have been organizing victories. And I know that when members of the State, County and Municipal Employees recall your union's proudest moments, you remember Memphis in 1968 or Atlanta, Ga., just as the United Mine Workers recall Harlan County, Ky., in the 1930s or the Logan March."

Miller took up the charge that "big labor" has grown "too powerful." "I would like for these critics of big labor to tell me what other size organization could hope to take on the likes of Duke Power or U.S. Steel or the government of a major city," he said.

"The problem with labor today is not that we are too big, but that there are too few of us to overcome the economic and political stranglehold giant corporations hold over our society. . . . And the solution is for the labor movement to make its top priority to try to bring every nonunion working man and woman in this country under the union banner."

Jerry Wurf, in his address, emphasized that the income of public employees, most of whom are low-paid to begin with, was falling behind inflation. He defended the right of public employees to strike, and received his biggest ovation when he said all AFSCME units should demand cost-of-living escalator clauses in their contracts.

A large proportion of AFSCME's

members are Blacks and women, and some sections of the union, such as welfare employees, include many former college students who only recently left the radicalized campus milieu. This membership composition has influenced AFSCME's positions on many social issues. Its more progressive stands, such as support to the anti-Vietnam war movement, are one reason for the running conflict between AFSCME leaders and others in the AFL-CIO officialdom.

The conservative Meany leadership of the AFL-CIO was bitterly attacked throughout the convention. Wurf charged that other AFL-CIO unions, notably the American Federation of Teachers, dominated by Albert Shanker, and the Service Employees International Union, were persistently attempting to raid AFSCME.

Wurf insisted AFSCME was not about to disaffiliate from the AFL-CIO, but he also emphasized AFSCME's willingness to work with forces outside the federation to improve the wages and working conditions of public employees.

The convention reaffirmed AFSCME's support for the Coalition of American Public Employees. CAPE includes AFSCME, the National Education Association, and the National Treasury Employees Union, which together represent more than 2.2 million of the 4.5 million organized public employees. Neither the NEA nor the NTEU belongs to the AFL-CIO.

The AFL-CIO executive council has announced it will establish a public employees department, which will be counterposed to CAPE, in a move clearly intended to bolster Shanker's

Continued on page 26

Baltimore municipal workers' strike escalates

More than 4,000 Baltimore municipal employees were engaged in strike and job actions as of July 9. Dissatisfaction with the city's 6 percent wage offer is continuing to spread, and a strike of all city employees seems possible.

The workers already out include garbage collectors; water, sewer, and highway maintenance crews; and park workers. Although they represent only a small portion of the city's 43,000 employees, they are among the most essential to its daily operation.

Huge piles of garbage and trash have piled up on the city's streets, and people have had to wait in long lines in 90-degree heat to dump their own trash at city landfills. Should any water-main breaks or sewage-line blockages occur, the city cannot cope with them without the maintenance crews.

Nevertheless, Mayor William Schaefer is adamant that no city employees will get more than a 6 percent raise this year, even though inflation is running at close to twice that rate. Schaefer is threatening to call in the National Guard.

"Union leaders were equally uncompromising," wrote Charles Krause in the July 8 *Washington Post*, "at least partially because they appear to have lost control of their members."

Earlier, union leader Ernest Crofoot said, "We didn't start the strike and I doubt seriously if we can stop it."

The strike began as a wildcat action July 1 when 1,000 of the city's 1,500 garbage collectors refused to report for work. At a meeting the day before of Local 44 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, a union of 11,000 that includes the trash collectors, the 700 members present had ratified the city's 6 percent wage offer by a slight majority.

The ratification, which had been urged by union officials, was denounced by rank-and-file militants as a sellout. The new contract would have meant a 20-cent-an-hour wage increase. Wages currently range from \$3.60 to \$4.15.

The striking sanitation workers demanded a 50-cent-an-hour increase. In addition, they called for the abolition of the city's "point system" of penalties for blue-collar workers. Under this system each absence, for whatever reason, is counted as one point. A worker who accumulates eight points in one year is subject to dismissal.

"Union leaders said they tried for a full day to put down the wildcat strike," the June 9 *Washington Post* reported. "They failed, and on July 2 the local met amid cheering and raised fists and officially sanctioned the strike of the sanitation workers."

The same day a Baltimore judge issued an injunction against the strike. Despite the injunction and a \$15,000 a day fine, the strike continues to grow. "Injunctions don't pick up garbage," a union official commented.

The state and city AFL-CIO councils have announced support for the strike and pledged money for fines and a strike fund. The executive board of the Baltimore Teachers Union has also endorsed the strike, and is calling on teachers to join the picket lines.

Convention endorses union women's group

The following resolution in support of the Coalition of Labor Union Women was passed by the June convention of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Whereas: Women comprise 20 percent of the labor union movement and can contribute greatly to building and strengthening the unions in the United States, and

Whereas: There are 34 million women who are full time employees and of these only four million are members of bona fide collective bargaining units, and

Whereas: Women in the Union have special concerns as females

and unionists, specifically the problems of equal rights, equal opportunity, equitable hiring and promotions, adequate maternity benefits and child care facilities, and

Whereas: For over 100 years the labor union movement has pledged to fight all forms of discrimination, including sexual discrimination. Unified and determined action is necessary to organize working women into unions and obtain equality for women in the workplace and the unions; and

Whereas: A National Coalition of Labor Union Women was formed March 23, 1974, making it the first organization of its type in United States history, and AFSCME wom-

en were active in the planning of the founding convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women in Chicago. . . .

Therefore be it resolved:

That this 20th International Convention of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees supports the Coalition of Labor Union Women through all available resources in its efforts to unite union women and develop action programs to further the interests of all working women, and

Therefore be it further resolved:

That the Convention urges AFSCME women to join and participate in CLUW on both the national and local levels.

Harper & Row strikers win most demands

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK—Members of the Association of Harper & Row Employees returned to work July 8 after voting to accept a company offer and end their strike July 3.

The two-and-a-half-week strike against Harper & Row was the first such action in recent book-publishing history.

Bernice Krawczyk, president of the association, told *The Militant*, "We achieved at least most of our goals" in the contract terms.

Before the strike, management had proposed to take away the employees' profit-sharing plan. According to the settlement, every present employee will remain part of the plan as long as it



Militant/Janice Lynn

exists. New employees will not belong to the plan.

The contract calls for across-the-board raises of \$7 a week the first year, \$4 the second, and \$5 the third. This is slightly more than the original management offer. But more significant in the union's eyes, Krawczyk said, is the fact that the raises will become effective on the contract date (May 1), rather than the individual employee's anniversary date, as management had wanted. "Merit increases" will be given at management's discretion on the anniversary date.

The contract also includes a \$10-a-week cost-of-living increase for each of the three years of the contract.

Other gains over the previous contract include medical-plan payment for abortion for all women employees and six-month paid maternity leave.

More important than the specific terms settled on, Krawczyk said, was the strengthening of the union through the experience of the strike.

"The strike was a victory because we're going back stronger than we went out," Krawczyk told *The Militant*. "Now we have a really good organization." After being back at work only two days, the association president said, "I've already got three grievances from people who were afraid to raise them before the strike."

The July 8 *New York Times* carried an ad signed by Krawczyk expressing the union's gratitude to "its generous and good friends in the labor movement and in other publishing houses."

The strike had been marked by wide

participation in picketing outside the Harper & Row offices by employees of other publishers and members of other unions.

The success of the Harper & Row strike has given a further boost to efforts at union organization in other New York publishing houses. Several of the unions that assisted the Association of Harper & Row Employees in its strike are interested in having the union affiliate with their organizations. Office and Professional Employees International Union Local 153 is currently conducting an organizing campaign at Macmillan, Inc., largest of the major New York publishing houses.

Houston pickets: 'Rehire the nine nurses!'

HOUSTON—"The pressure on the Jefferson Davis Hospital administration continues," the Channel 2 newscaster reported, explaining the film of picketers marching in front of the hospital July 6.

Seventy people had responded to the call of the Coalition to Defend the Nurses to come out and demand the reinstatement of nine nurses fired from the hospital. The demonstrators also called for an independent investigation of the conditions at Jefferson Davis.

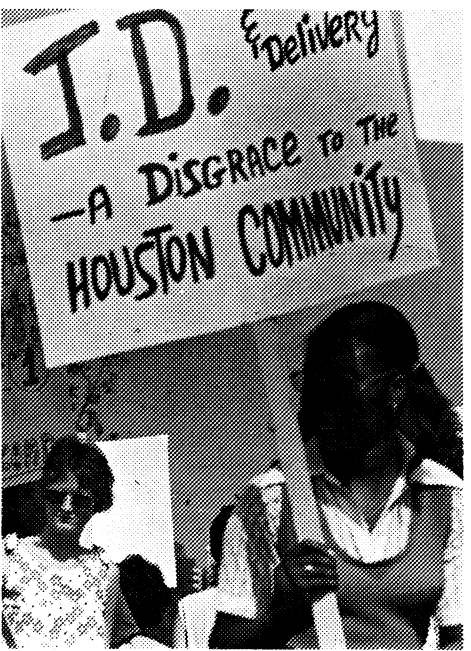
"The nurses were fired last month for leading a "sick-out" of hospital employees protesting the unsafe conditions in the labor and delivery rooms of the hospital. Forty-four of the 65 employees in those departments stayed out for six days.

In addition to protesting the lack of enough nurses to care for all the women who come into the hospital and the fact that the hospital equipment is broken and outdated, the nurses were also demanding improvement in their own conditions. They demanded a \$45-a-month wage increase, a nurses' lounge, and a special parking area.

Seventy percent of the people using Jefferson Davis Hospital are Black and 20 percent are Chicano. The majority of the fired nurses are Black.

Support continues to broaden for the nurses in their fight to improve conditions in the hospital.

The student senate at the University of Houston voted to endorse the coalition's demands and to make



Militant/Tom Vernier

July 6 picket line. Nurses demand better hospital conditions, higher pay.

available the resources of the university for their struggle. Members of the African Liberation Support Committee, the Congress of African People, and the Raza Unida Party have recently joined in the work of the coalition.

On July 13, Black radio station KYOK is scheduled to conduct an all-day fund-raiser to cover the legal expenses of the nurses. Listeners will be encouraged to stop in front of the station, where the nurses and coalition members will be available to talk about the issues and accept financial contributions.

The Coalition to Defend the Nurses also includes representatives from the Socialist Workers Party, Harris County Women's Political Caucus, Women's Equity Action League, National Organization for Women, and Advocates for Medical Information.

St. Louis Blacks protest slaying by cops

By HELEN SAVIO

ST. LOUIS—Nearly 200 people attended a rally here July 5 to protest the slaying of John Patrick by St. Louis police.

Patrick, who was Black, 59 years old, and a semi-invalid, was asleep on the night of June 26 at 8:30 p.m., when a policeman broke his door down and killed him with two shots.

Earlier in the day three convicts had escaped from Homer G. Phillips Hospital. At 8:07 p.m. the police received an anonymous call that the three could be found at 2621 Howard St., the Patrick home. Twenty-three minutes later John Patrick was dead.

Eighteen police were deployed around the Patrick home at the time of the shooting. One of the neighbors, a long-time friend of Patrick's, told *The Militant* that he had seen the police standing with drawn guns as he was going to work. He had informed the police that only a sick old man was inside, and had offered to go in and get him. But his offer was ignored.

Instead, a Black policeman in plain clothes broke the door in on orders from his superior and shot Patrick. The cop claimed that Patrick had been holding a shotgun.

The killing was ruled a justifiable homicide at a coroner's inquest July 3. A protest meeting was called by Norman Seay, police affairs coordinator for the St. Louis NAACP, and by the Missionary Baptist Ministers Union of St. Louis.

Speakers at the rally, held outside Patrick's house, were Seay, members of the Missionary Baptist Ministers Union, the lawyer for the Patrick family, a state representative, and Barbara Mutnick, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Missouri.

Reverend A.C. Hall told the crowd, "If this is going to be the practice of the police in St. Louis, then we are all in danger of being killed—not by robbers, not by murders, but by the police."

Mutnick pledged her support to efforts to reveal the truth about the killing of Patrick, and called for all police units to be withdrawn from the Black community and replaced by units drawn from and responsible to the community.

New York hospital workers ratify new contract

By JENNIFER SIMPSON

NEW YORK—One thousand delegates from District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, met June 30 and voted overwhelmingly to approve a new contract.

Several days earlier, thousands of hospital workers demonstrated outside their hospitals to bring public attention to the deadlocked contract negotiations.

By June 27 the League of Voluntary Hospitals had made no counter-offer to District 1199's contract demands. The hospitals were pleading poverty, saying they could not pay any wage increases unless they received additional funds from Blue Cross, Medicare, and Medicaid.

Under state law, when the negotiations reach an impasse, as also happened in 1972, a state-appointed arbitration panel intervenes and hands down a binding decision.

As the July 1 deadline approached, it seemed that District 1199 might be faced with its second strike in eight months. Last November some 30,000 hospital workers walked off the job for a week demanding that the federal Cost of Living Council act on a 7.5 percent wage increase awarded by an arbitration panel in 1972.

District 1199's strike was the only major challenge to Nixon's wage controls in their two and a half years of existence. Officials of other unions, afraid to join the fight against the government, did nothing to support the strike, and hospital workers were forced back with only a "noninflationary" 6 percent increase. In addition, 1199 was hit with three-quarters of a million dollars in fines, which it is still trying to pay off.

However, the strength and determination shown by the strikers last fall was an important factor in this year's negotiations.

The union demanded a one-year contract, a \$25 across-the-board increase, improved fringe benefits, and an escalator clause to raise wages every three months in accord with the cost of living. Another demand was payment of the 1.5 percent cut by the now-defunct Cost of Living Council, to be paid retroactively to May 1, 1974.

The arbitration award is a two-year contract with a raise of 11 percent or \$17 (whichever is higher) in the first year, and \$10 a week the second year, plus the retroactive 1.5 percent. The cost-of-living provision is very poor; it will be paid only once during the contract and only covers price increases above 5 percent.

An important gain was the establishment of minimum salaries. From \$151 a week now, the minimum will be increased over the two-year period to \$181.

While many delegates expressed disappointment at not winning the escalator clause, the mood at the June 30 delegate assembly was one of victory.

"I never thought I would live to see the day when hospital workers would earn \$181," one union official told the cheering crowd. "Before the union came in, I was working seven days a week and earning \$17."

Wage explosion?

As inflation has shot up into the "double-digit" range, the capitalist politicians and government economists have stepped up their debates over what to do about it. Their great fear is the specter of what they call a "wage explosion"—meaning simply that working people are going to put up a stiff fight for catch-up wage increases.

All the "anti-inflation" plans being floated by government "experts" boil down to one common theme when you look at them closely: take *more* money out of the pockets of working people and transfer it to the pockets of the rich.

For example, a couple of weeks ago, Treasury Secretary William Simon said the administration was seriously considering tax *cuts* for big business to stimulate investment. Profits were "too low" last year, Simon complained.

What about tax cuts for working people, you might ask. Oh, no, said Herbert Stein, Nixon's chief economic adviser, "we should not be putting \$5-billion or \$10-billion in [the American people's] hands which they'd only go out and spend."

Asked about the cause of inflation on TV's "Face the Nation," Stein had the gall to say, "The American people created the condition" with their "endless demands." His "solution" is for working people to tighten their belts for a period of austerity—"not months," he said, but "three or four years—more or less indefinitely."

Stein concluded by saying that "people should understand the limits to what they can demand of the system." But if today's declining quality of life is "the limit" this capitalist system can provide, why should working people sacrifice to maintain it?

The way forward for working people is to mobilize their great power as a class to fight for catch-up wage increases and adequate cost-of-living escalator clauses. To wage this struggle, workers need to transform their unions into instruments of class solidarity and class struggle. They also need an instrument of struggle on the political level, a labor party based on the unions. Such a party could answer the capitalist economic "planners" with the fight for a government that would serve the economic interests of the majority—that is, of the working people.

A free ballot?

The "democratic" image of American elections has become a bit tarnished since the Watergate revelations of Nixon's illegal practices in the 1972 presidential race. But CREEP's "dirty tricks" pale by comparison to the *bipartisan* trampling on democratic rights by which the Democrats and Republicans attempt to maintain their political monopoly.

To make sure that they alone are regarded as "legitimate" political parties, the two capitalist parties have enacted discriminatory election laws designed to make it as difficult as possible for any independent party to appear on the ballot.

In some states the requirements for candidates other than Democrats and Republicans are simply impossible to meet. At the least they require spending thousands of dollars and untold hours of work by campaign volunteers.

But meeting the legal requirements is no guarantee of a spot on the ballot. In Massachusetts, state officials have arbitrarily declared hundreds of the Socialist Workers Party's signatures on nominating petitions "invalid" in one congressional district.

An even more flagrant attack has come in Indiana, where a county official who receives nominating petitions has publicly invited all who had signed the socialist petitions to come to her office and remove their names. She pointedly observed that the FBI "checks out" the names on SWP petitions! (See story on page 20.)

This attack fits in perfectly with the FBI's "SWP Disruption Program" exposed earlier this year. In fact, a secret 1961 letter by late FBI director J. Edgar Hoover motivated the "Disruption Program" in part by complaining that the SWP has "been openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office. . . ."

The Indiana scandal is further evidence that the FBI's disruption was not ended in 1971, as the government claims, but continues to this day.

The SWP and Young Socialist Alliance are suing the government to force a halt to all illegal surveillance and attempts at intimidation of the party and its supporters, including the harassment of those who sign SWP petitions. All those who are genuinely concerned with protecting democratic rights should speak out against these illegal attacks and defend the SWP's right to appear on the ballot.

Miss Universe contest

The Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP) is sponsoring a picket against the Miss Universe Contest, Inc., in New York City July 19. As feminists, we strongly believe that the maintenance of the Miss Universe Contest is a direct affront to the international women's movement.

We, as Filipinos, are appalled by the fact that this year the contest is being held in the Philippines, where there is not only widespread poverty but also the absence of the basic freedoms of speech, press, and assembly.

It is obvious that Ferdinand Marcos is not merely interested in tourism; for him, the contest serves to polish his tarnished image abroad and focus worldwide publicity for his "New Society" and "reforms." The Marcos regime is intent on enticing foreign investors by advertising the Philippines as "a land rich in natural resources—minerals, logs, and women." All of these are to the detriment of the women's struggle and at the expense of the Filipino people.

*Union of Democratic Filipinos
New York, N. Y.*

Rigged cash registers

The June issue of *Computer Decisions* reported that cash registers at an A&P store in New York City had been rigged to cheat customers. If an order ran over about \$25, another three dollars was automatically added to the customer's bill.

They didn't know how many customers had been bilked by this scheme, but it was probably in the thousands.

*L. S.
Boston, Mass.*

Racist judge

I'm glad to see that you have the Prisoners' Subscription Fund for prisoners—they are often forgotten. One tends to think of them as people who more or less chose their fate through crime, but a story a friend of mine told proves it wrong.

He was in jail in Miami during the 1972 Republican convention, and when his case came up along with several Black men's cases, one of the Blacks despaired of any hope. My friend asked him why he was giving up before he was even arraigned. He said that the particular judge they were called before had *never*, in the 20-plus years she'd been on the bench, acquitted a Black person of anything.

*Denise Matteau
Belchertown, Mass.*

Correction

Your account of the demonstration held in Minneapolis when Gerald Ford visited here last month was misleading. (See *Militant*, July 5.) The article left the impression that the picket line outside the Gerald Ford luncheon was primarily a demonstration against U. S. complicity in Portugal's colonial policies. As an afterthought, the article stated that there were also demonstrators present protesting the frame-up trial of American Indian Movement leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means.

Actually, the opponents of Portuguese colonialism numbered only a

small section of the crowd. Much larger was the contingent demanding that the charges be dropped against Banks and Means. Also, a substantial portion of the crowd was there demanding the President's impeachment. They were mainly members of the New American Movement.

*R. F.
Minneapolis, Minn.*

'Attica still with us'

We in prison have not and never will forget Attica. There are many of us prisoners who are willing to support the brothers in a dollar sense, but as you know, our attempts have been futile. However, we have not given up. We are presently awaiting the settlement of a recent court decision in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, requiring state officials to let us donate our monies to such organizations as the Attica Brothers Defense Fund.

I find the prison system just as inhumane as it was prior to the Attica rebellion of 1971. Brutalities are still being perpetrated on the prisoners; however, emphasis is placed on thought control set up in the guise of rehabilitation and therapeutic treatment programs.

Security is the prime concern of state officials; authentic rehabilitation programs are at best poor and inadequate. The concept of rehabilitation is phony. Nothing has changed, for Attica is still with us.

*A prisoner
New York*

Sewage sludge

In this age of science and technology, you'd think there would be a better way of getting rid of sewage than dumping it in the ocean. And there probably is. In New York and New Jersey, however, they not only dump it in the ocean, but they do it only 10 miles from shore. About five million cubic yards of sewage sludge are dumped there every year.

The sludge has now moved to within a quarter-mile of the beach, and scientists say it will be up *on* the beaches by the summer of 1977. They also say the beaches will be unusable by the summer of 1976 because of contamination from the sewage sludge.

To add insult to injury, these same scientists warned about the sludge last year but were dismissed by officials responsible for dumping the sewage. It seems the officials don't know what else to do with it, so they just deny that it's doing any harm!

Capitalism really does foul things up.
*M. W.
Newark, N. J.*

Contraception in France

France has a new contraception law that marks a major victory, particularly for French women. For more than 50 years France has had one of the strictest anticontraception laws in the world. In 1967 the strict law was loosened a tiny bit, permitting the distribution of contraceptives only on medical orders and requiring personal prescriptions with a time limit.

The new law, passed by the French Assembly with only one dissenting vote on June 28, authorizes



Open the books of the food trust

general distribution of contraceptives and also provides for the cost to be paid for by the social security system. The new law also wipes out the requirement that women under 18 have written permission from their parents and a doctor.

Many people think that the new contraceptive law was passed by the government as a lesser evil to the campaign for legal abortions in France. Whatever their reasons, the law is a big step forward. Legalization of abortions must be the next step.

E.J.
New York, N.Y.

Pushouts

"Johnny, report to the principal's office!"

How many of the Johnnies in classrooms across the country who heard those words last year and got suspended or expelled were Black?

Statistics reveal that most of them were.

In New York City alone, according to figures released by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 85.9 percent of suspended students were Black or Puerto Rican.

A National Education Association survey for 1972-73 shows that 21 of the country's largest school districts suspended about 125,000 students, 90,000 of them Black.

"Pushout," a practice involving the suspension or expulsion of a student from these racist, insensitive, and often intellectually retarding phenomena known as public schools—for race rather than for academic or disciplinary reasons—is on the rise.

In May, however, the NEA called upon HEW to set up a special office to guard against pushouts. Last month a judge, faced with a disproportionate number of Black pushouts in Dallas, Texas, ordered the school system there to change its policies.

B.S.
New York, N.Y.

A helping hand

You do not go unappreciated. I find people very easy to radicalize these days, and *The Militant* makes it easier yet. Please send 50 copies of your reprint with the FBI COINTELPRO memos.

B.L.
West Hollywood, Calif.

[Reprints of material from our March 22, 1974, issue are still available. The reprint includes the article "FBI memos detail government plot to crush Black movement" and the partially censored FBI documents outlining the COINTELPRO operation against Black leaders and groups and socialists.

[Reprints may be ordered from the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. (212) 929-3486.

- [4 cents each for 500 or more
- [5 cents each for 100 to 499
- [6 cents each for 50 to 99
- [7 cents each for 10 to 49
- [10 cents each for 9 or less]

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Under the capitalist system of commodity production, things people need are produced for exchange, not for use. This often causes those who produce the essential of life to live in want, a paradox compounded by monopoly control of prices.

Long before the economic dominance of giant monopolies, it was a common saying that the shoemaker's children go barefoot.

Today, in the more complex world of monopoly capitalism, the same principle operates with greater vengeance. People starve in the midst of plenty.

Food production, like shoe manufacturing, is controlled by multinational corporations. The family farm, like the little shoemaker, has been displaced by faceless corporate giants.

The food trust owns vegetable farms, vineyards, citrus groves, orchards, and fields of corn and wheat. Fertilizer plants are owned by the same financial interests. They own cattle ranches, dairies, hog farms, and chicken farms. They operate slaughterhouses. The grain elevators and storage bins are theirs. They process feed for livestock. And they own the mills that grind flour and make breakfast cereal.

They own the machinery that plants and harvests, and the canneries in the fields, and the monster tractor-trailers that deliver the produce, the canned goods, and the packaged meats to market. They also own the supermarkets.

The end results of this highly mechanized and complex method of food production are a high rate of profit on invested capital, low wages in the industry, high prices for food, and a final product that is barely fit for human consumption.

This vital sector of the total national economy has its chosen government representative, who manipulates the controls of government to boost profits. He is Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz, a former Ralston-Purina executive.

Butz is strictly a free-market man, urging U.S. agribusiness to sell to the highest bidder in the world market and restrict production where it pinches most

in order to drive prices as high as possible.

If necessary to keep prices high, thousands of tons of fruit and vegetables are destroyed when the new crop comes in. To boost the high price of chicken a few months ago, baby chicks were destroyed. The industry conveniently arranged to have pictures of the destruction shown on television at dinner time to prove the desperate need to raise prices—the reason being the high price of chicken feed.

U.S. bumper crops of wheat and corn are forecast this year: two billion bushels of wheat and 6.4 billion bushels of corn, both new records.

This does not mean that the price of bread will drop.

In Iowa, Illinois, and North and South Dakota, where many beef cattle are fattened, workers will get no steaks. Agriculture Secretary Butz explains that pricing is a form of rationing, the purpose being to keep American consumers from eating more than is good for them—or the country.

The government and the profit-bloated food industry here have not gone on a magnanimous "free food" spree as some loudmouths in Congress claim. Far from it. Most food shipped abroad is sold for the top dollar. Wheat shipments under the "Food for Peace" program declined from an average six million tons to 4.1 million last year. This year they are expected to drop to 1.24 million tons.

One of the major grain companies, Cargill, Inc., is warning of shortages and proposes a "national reserve" of grains, another scheme to get government subsidies for the grain speculators.

There is a limit to these practices. That will be determined by the millions of overcharged and underfed consumers in this country when they organize price committees to open the books of the food trust, expose how supplies are manipulated to drive up prices, and demand that food be produced for hungry people here and throughout the world, not the profit-hungry ones.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



In defense of Haitian refugees

Imagine for a moment that the island of Manhattan, through whatever fashion, came to be ruled by a brutally oppressive regime. Imagine that all rights of Manhattan Blacks—freedoms of speech, association, assembly, and others—were abolished and a secret police force began to terrorize the Black community.

Suppose this regime imprisoned and tortured anyone who opposed its methods or protested its economic conditions and living standards, since the island now had the lowest per capita income in the Western hemisphere.

Suppose that these conditions began to drive some Blacks off Manhattan, but being too poor to afford the 'A' train to Brooklyn, they struck out in leaky, makeshift vessels.

Would it be correct for Brooklyn Blacks to term them "traitors" and "sick lackie negroes" when they arrived? Or should they demand that Brooklyn city hall open its doors to them?

The analogy is meant to illustrate the plight of 400 Haitian refugees who suffered similar conditions in Haiti, and have come to the United States seeking relief. But according to an article in the June *Black News*, a reformist nationalist-oriented Brooklyn magazine, these Haitians should be denounced, not defended.

"Black Haitians running to the shores of America the Beautiful? (Sorry, the Disgraceful). What type of nonsense is this?" begins Brother Kwetu, author of the article.

Kwetu admits that the government of Haiti is neo-colonialist, meaning "Negroes front while whites control. The man in charge of this dictatorship is Jean Claude Duvalier, the American puppet."

Kwetu, however, implies that these Haitian refu-

gees are reactionaries.

He writes: "It is against the nature of a revolutionary to ask the enemy for asylum, therefore it is the American and European made Negro that is seeking safety in the House of its Master (amerika)."

Kwetu claims that the refugees are fleeing the struggle in Haiti and says they are "not for you and me."

Kwetu is wrong.

Revolutionaries believe that people have a right to free emigration. Revolutionaries therefore back the right of unhindered travel to, and unconditional asylum in, any country that Haitians desire, if they see this as a means of escaping the tyranny they suffer in Haiti.

Rather than denounce the Haitians as "fleeing the struggle," the obligation of revolutionaries is to demand that the U.S. open its doors to them.

Many of these Haitians were active in the struggle in Haiti, were imprisoned, had their lives threatened, and escaped in order to live and carry on the struggle.

Maxine Williams, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 12th C.D., replied to Kwetu in a campaign statement being distributed in Brooklyn. Williams pointed out that the Haitians have also sought asylum "in Cuba, Canada, Africa, and the Bahamas (where the government has decreed their expulsion)."

"Were Marcus Garvey and C.L.R. James 'traitors' because they were forced to leave the Caribbean . . . ?" Williams asks.

Williams wonders "if Kwetu would have been against the slaves who sought refuge in the North through the underground railroad. Would Kwetu have sided with the slavemaster or the slave?"



Fun City—New York commuters were assured there was no reason to take special note of the seeming increase in the numbers of cockroaches scurrying around on the buses. A Transit Authority spokesperson said the problem was no worse than previous years, explaining, "It's just that with the first onset of really hot, muggy weather . . . the roaches start coming out in greater numbers."

Oh—The New York Transit Authority spokesperson also said the reason there's a lot of cockroaches on the buses is that they're a hardy German species, and while dousings by fumigators kill the roaches, they can't seem

to kill the eggs.

Right product, wrong use—A federal judge ordered a halt to the distribution of Long Nails, a product being sold to lengthen finger nails. The FDA said a chemical in the product caused the users to faint, their real nails to fall out, and fungus to grow. But why take it off the market? It could be offered to those who want to quit biting their nails.

That's a comfort—The Veteran's Administration announced the issuance of a new form that they contend will speed up applications for headstones for deceased veterans.



"Rest Assured, I'm Watching It All The Time"

Safety first—The Federal Energy Administration confirmed that major oil companies are pressuring distributors to increase their sales. But, a spokesperson for the conservation agency said, they don't intend to do anything about it. Right. Exxon might get annoyed and the lines would be back.

As long as it's joyful—A book wholesaler said a Catholic girls' school in St. Louis ordered 25 copies of *The Joy of Cooking* and he mistakenly shipped *The Joy of Sex*. He said the school did not complain even though the bill was \$25 more than the cookbooks would have cost.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



SWP candidates in the running

Members of the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) recently held a meeting in Wichita, Kans. This group claims to be a *multipartisan* organization formed to involve more women in politics and to endorse women candidates for office. Their last meeting, however, reconfirms the *bipartisan* orientation of the leaders of the NWPC—to build support for candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties only.

The Wichita meeting released statistics on the number of women running for office in the 1974 elections. Their statistics are seriously in error. They do not include the women running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

The NWPC reports that 112 women filed to run for the House or Senate this year, 67 of whom are still in the running. Forty-nine, they report, have filed for statewide offices, of whom 29 are still in the running.

The *New York Times* article about the meeting included a picture of Maya Miller, Democrat from Nevada, with a caption saying she is "one of two women still running for a seat in the U.S. Senate."

That simply isn't true. SWP candidates "still running" for U.S. Senate include Christina Adachi from Pennsylvania, Rebecca Finch from New York, Clare Fraenzl from Washington, Barbara

Mutnick from Missouri, and Elizabeth Lariscy from Georgia.

SWP candidates for Governor include: Jane Van Deusen, Minnesota; Sherry Smith, Texas; Olga Rodriguez, California; Nora Danielson, Colorado; Roberta Scherr, Pennsylvania; Stacey Seigle, Oregon; and Nancy Brown, Ohio. An SWP mayoral candidate is also still in the race, Nan Bailey in Washington, D.C. So are many congressional candidates of the SWP.

The SWP is running more than 100 candidates for U.S. Senate and House of Representatives and for state and local offices in 15 states and the District of Columbia. Many of these candidates are women—Black women, Chicanas, Asian women, and white women. Some of these women are trade unionists and others are students. All of them are feminists and active, uncompromising fighters for women's liberation. Not one of them should be dismissed by the NWPC.

Of course, the *New York Times* and the NWPC would reply that they are referring to *serious* candidates, not those of a "minor" party. Well, let's look at who is serious about women's oppression and who is just hustling votes for capitalist politicians.

Every single one of the SWP candidates, male and female, is campaigning for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, equal pay for equal work, paid maternity leave with no loss of seniority, free quality child-care facilities, free abortion and contraception on demand, and an end to forced sterilization.

The Democrats and Republicans present no program that can begin to solve the problems faced by women. On the contrary, they defend the system that is responsible for those problems.

"By serious," the NWPC and the *New York Times* would say, "we mean candidates that can win."

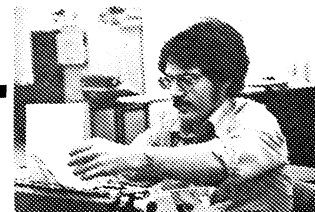
But win what? It's true that Democratic and Republican candidates are more likely to win *office* in 1974 than those of the SWP, but that does not win *freedom* for women.

The way to win freedom for women is by building a movement of women independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. The winning strategy is one that identifies with the struggles of working people and the oppressed nationalities and seeks to totally restructure society by replacing capitalism with socialism.

That is the strategy of the SWP candidates, and that is why they should be supported.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



A national action against deportations

LOS ANGELES—Not long ago Immigration and Naturalization Service Director Leonard Chapman Jr. announced that he would seek to escalate deportations by 50 percent this year.

Meanwhile, a great hue and cry is being raised about the supposed "flood" of "illegal aliens." As the country's economic situation worsens, the greater is the government's need to find scapegoats. Chauvinist propaganda blames undocumented workers for unemployment and low wages. The faults of the capitalist system are thus laid to its chief victims.

These workers, relegated to the hardest, lowest-paying jobs, have helped to make the capitalists wealthy, yet they are accused of "cheating on taxes," "living off welfare," and using social services "intended for citizens."

Unfortunately, instead of standing up for this most exploited layer of the working class, the top levels of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy parrot the racist arguments.

In this situation, the call of the antideportation movement for a national moratorium against *la migra* in Los Angeles Aug. 31 couldn't be more

timely. Building actions to be held the previous weekend are also planned for New York, Chicago, San Antonio, Colorado, and San Diego.

Organizers have stressed that the demonstration will have a completely legal peaceful character. Avoiding provocations that would give the police an excuse for attacking the action is essential for participants without papers. If any of them get busted, it's not just a matter of raising bail; they will get deported.

An action like this in which the whole movement can unite gives us a tremendous opportunity to speak before Chicano community groups, unions, and the church groups, explaining why it is in the interest of all of us to stop the harassment of those without papers.

Moratorium organizers have already spoken on radio and TV programs about the demonstration. Many leaflets have been distributed. The California state executive board of the Social Services Union Local 535 recently endorsed the action. Other unions can be approached for endorsement.

A big effort to build the moratorium will aid the defense of the Haitian refugees in Miami jails,

threatened with deportation by *la migra*.

The movement's activities have had an impact in staying the government's hand. A Supreme Court decision a year ago that put an end to the Gestapo-like dragnet raids of *la migra* resulted partially from protests organized by the antideportation movement.

Those without documents form a large part of the Chicano people. They are also a significant layer of the working class in many large cities. If they can be brought into the Chicano liberation movement and the unions, not only will they be better able to improve their own condition, but they will be a great source of strength for the whole movement for social change.

In building actions like the moratorium against *la migra*, many people will come to see through the government's lies about the undocumented workers. In this way the antideportation movement can raise the consciousness of Chicanos and other working people. A successful demonstration Aug. 31 will strike a new blow at this reactionary government game of divide and rule.

Lisbon censorship mounts; rural workers strike

From Intercontinental Press

By GERRY FOLEY

The Portuguese junta has continued to move ahead rapidly, after crushing the postal workers' strike on June 20, to try to eliminate the liberties the masses won in the wake of the April 25 coup. Immediately after its victory over the postal workers, it passed a harsh press-censorship law. On July 3, the new regulations were implemented.

"The newspaper A Capital was fined \$4,000 and Republica, \$1,200," the *New York Times* reported July 4, "for publishing news of a demonstration staged last week against the arrest of two officers who had refused to accept a plan to assume military control of the strikebound post office. The strike collapsed before the plan could be put into effect."

The postal workers' strike was broken primarily by political pressures. The Communist party, the strongest political party in the labor movement and in the government, mobilized against the strikers, calling them accomplices of the "fascists."

The Communist party, which holds the Ministry of Labor in the provisional government, proved its usefulness to the junta, since if the strike had continued, the "patriotic" officers would apparently have had difficulties in carrying out their threat to conscript the workers.

Nor could there be any doubt about the usefulness of the Socialist party ministers to the bourgeois nationalist junta. One in particular was called upon to demonstrate unusual devotion to his office.

"The charges against Republica were not made known," the *New York Times* noted in its July 4 article, "but the action was particularly embarrassing because the Minister of Information, Raul Rego, was its publisher. The ministry informed the papers of the sanctions."

Rego is a well-known Socialist party personality, and his paper, *República*, generally reflects the outlook of that party.

Under the Caetano regime, *República* was the only daily courageous enough to oppose the government. Under the new regime, the publisher has taken on the task of repressing his own paper.

The postal strike and its aftermath have illustrated the strengths and weaknesses of the new regime. It does not yet have firm enough control of the army to repress the masses who were encouraged by the fall of the police state to begin struggling for their long-thwarted aspirations. It has to depend on the workers' own parties to convince the masses not to demand "too much," or to "misuse" democracy.

In fact, the development in Portugal since the fall of the police state has shown quite clearly the contradiction that exists between democracy and the needs of the capitalist system. For example, in a long article on the business page of the July 5 *New York Times*, correspondent Henry Giniger described the problems "too much democracy" had caused one small capitalist, a U.S. shirtmaker who had been lured to Portugal by the prospect of cheap labor.

"When he built the plant," Giniger wrote, "his wage bill was about 20 cents an hour, which had more than doubled under inflationary pressures by 1974. Wage scales had been based in the incentive system that the owner asserted was the only way to get full production in the garment trade."

The mood that developed among the workers, nearly all women, after the fall of the police state, resulted, the capitalist said, in a 40 percent drop in production. But he was prepared to be understanding and continue to pay "full wages." Then:

"He was confronted May 23 by a workers' commission like those that



Portuguese hotel and restaurant workers demonstrate for right to form new union.

were formed in every office and factory in the country. The commission came to demand a minimum wage of \$200 a month, more than two and a half times the minimum he had been paying; a 40-hour week instead of the 48 hours then being worked, and the dismissal of almost all the old

supervisory personnel on the ground they had the fascist attitude of the old Government."

Despite a plant occupation and being locked in his office for a time by his workers, the capitalist managed, with the help of the government, to resist most of these demands. But this was no solution as far as he was concerned. The government was forced to establish a minimum wage; while it was less than the wage the workers were demanding, it was still more than he wanted to pay.

"For the American, the new minimum was something he asserted he could not live with because it destroyed the incentive system, which was essential, in his view, to maintain production." Presumably his base pay was well below the subsistence level.

Furthermore, even with the help of both of the well-known workers' parties, the government is finding it difficult to put a lid on the very widespread ferment released by the fall of the Caetano regime. No sooner is one strike ended or defeated than new struggles break out.

The junta and the Communist party had just succeeded (and it was not an unqualified success, as Giniger's report indicates) in breaking the postal workers' strike, when a strike of agricultural workers began in the key food-producing area of Alentejo. This large and brutally exploited category of Portuguese workers was not covered by the new minimum wage.

"In the old days," a July 4 dispatch to the *Times* noted, "little was ever heard from Portugal's semiliterate farm population, which worked for low wages when it could. . . ."

But after the breakdown of the old repressive system and the new government's promises of change, the farm workers could not tolerate their situation any more. As one explained to the *Times* correspondent: "We thought we would have good work conditions after April 25 but things are not better yet."

Mozambique rebels step up independence fight

By BAXTER SMITH

Along with blowing up the vital Beira-Tete rail line in 28 places, thus halting supplies for the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam in northwestern Mozambique, Frelimo guerrillas in June have increased their attacks on Portuguese troops throughout Mozambique.

Frelimo has refused to accept the Lisbon regime's proposals to lay down their arms and await a "referendum" on the status of the colony.

Through repeated assaults, the rebels forced Portuguese troops back from northern Mozambique near the Tanzanian border, and, according to the July 9 *Washington Post*, the rebels have "secured a virtual stranglehold on the vital rail and road supply lines to the northern region of Tete."

The rebels are now "coming south through the narrow waist of Mozambique, like fleas through a rug. No one denies it," wrote Gavin Young in the *London Observer* June 30.

The *Post* cites Portuguese army communiqués saying that Frelimo struck one area every day last month. It also says that a situation of "worsening security" in Mozambique was partially responsible for General António Spínola canceling his proposed trip there.

"If the war goes on, we cannot stop Frelimo spreading," Young reports one Portuguese colonel as saying. "The young soldiers are no longer in the mood."

This "mood" that Young is referring to is the desire that has spread

through sections of the colonial army to end the fighting. Some of the Portuguese troops in Guinea-Bissau who no longer relish the prospect of a bout with the rebels have been fraternizing with them upon encounters. As a result, some of these units were recently recalled to Lisbon, according to the July 9 *New York Times*.

Mistrust and disillusion with Spínola continue to spread in the colonies.

On the subject of Spínola's proposed visit to Mozambique, one Black man said, "He's coming to say again, let's end the fighting, then a referendum. Then we'll organize elections. But, as Frelimo says, only a declaration of total independence now will do."

But in the meantime, bands of white racist settlers have begun launching terrorist attacks, including upon white liberals and supporters of Frelimo.

A lawyer who was spearheading an investigation into atrocities of the DGS, the Portuguese secret police, which he says reads like a "chamber of horrors," was the target of a grenade attack.

Also, along with the beating of a white journalist, anonymous callers have been phoning a Mozambique newspaper warning that attacks on leftist journalists had only begun.

Chicago picket hits Portuguese colonialism

By SUZANNE HAIG

CHICAGO—At a lunch-hour picket line here July 2, 50 people marched outside the office of the Portuguese airline, TAP, to protest the refusal of the Portuguese government to grant independence to its African colonies.

The protest, which was built on short notice, was sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance; Chicago Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Ad Hoc Committee for the Independence of the Portuguese African Colonies; African Student Organization at Northwestern University; Socialist Workers Party; Coalition for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau; *Kumbaba* Workshop; Professor Richard Rubenstein of Roosevelt University; and Professor Samuel Oklu of Kennedy-King College.

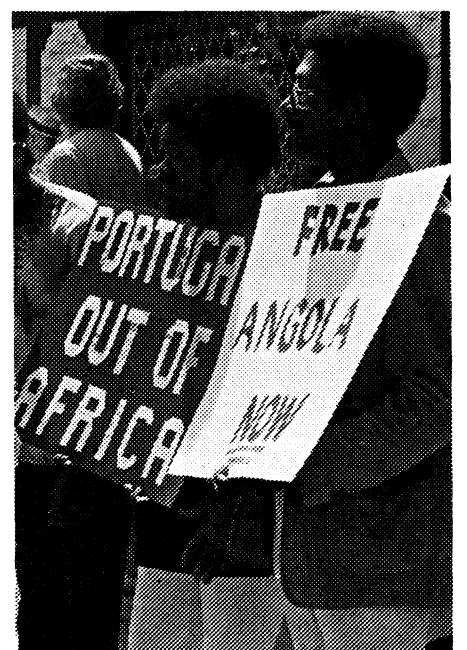
Others who joined the picket in-

cluded representatives from the Ethiopian Student Organization and Rising Up Angry, as well as some passers-by.

A picture and news of the picket appeared the next day in the *Daily Defender*, a Black newspaper.

The leaflet used to help build the protest said in part: "In spite of certain reforms in Portugal, the fighting in the colonies continues. . . . The U.S. Government is helping to prop up the Portuguese regime in Africa by filtering funds through the Azores Pact and NATO and also by supplying arms."

Demands of the demonstration included immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Portuguese troops and police from the colonies; immediate independence for Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and the Cape Verde Islands; and an end to U.S. complicity with Portugal.



Militant/Mark Allen

Pickers in Minneapolis demand U.S. out of Africa.

Spain and Portugal: Spanish re

The following is based on an interview with two Spanish revolutionists obtained recently by Militant reporters in Europe.

The April 25 coup that brought down the 48-year-old Salazarist dictatorship and touched off a train of dynamic events has had a profound impact beyond the borders of Portugal. Among those studying these developments with keen interest is the new generation of Spanish Marxists, who welcome the revolutionary upsurge in neighboring Portugal as a portent of what is soon to come in Spain.

Recently while in Paris we had a chance to talk with Jorge and Maria, two leaders of the Liga Comunista, Spanish sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. We discussed the fall of the Salazarist dictatorship and its meaning for the rest of Europe, especially Spain.

Maria began by pointing out that the overthrow of the Portuguese dictatorship implies a change in the relationship of forces that has existed in Europe throughout the post-World War II period. "Military dictatorships in Portugal, Spain, and Greece have been the lifesavers of imperialism," she remarked. "A very important breakthrough has now taken place in Portugal, one that will aid the revolutionary struggle in countries like Germany, Britain, and France in the coming period."

"But of course, the immediate repercussions will be greatest in countries where the political and social crisis is most acute, such as Spain and Greece—and I would add Italy, where the results of the divorce referendum reflect the beginnings of a new stage in the mass struggles in that country."

We asked how Spanish revolutionists see the repercussions in Spain in particular. This led us into a discussion of the similarities and differences between the two Iberian countries—a comparative history of the Portuguese and Spanish dictatorships.

Jorge explained that the two dictatorships came to power in similar objective circumstances, though at different historic moments. Both countries had once been great colonial

powers, but after World War I both faced serious economic difficulties. The ruling class in each country tried a whole series of alternative solutions. Finally the army had to step in.

"In both countries there was a combined feudal-financial oligarchy. Portugal had the same landowning structure as Spain, but there was an even greater polarization between the huge estates and the poverty-stricken peasantry. The rate of industrial development was very slow in both countries, but even more so in Portugal. The Portuguese ruling class succeeded in holding on to a larger colonial empire than its Spanish counterpart, but it was very weak—so weak that it couldn't even exploit its own colonies without foreign imperialist help."

In 1926 General António Carmona led a military coup d'état in Portugal. Jorge pointed out that Carmona's coup was encouraged by the existence of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, which had been installed in Spain in 1923.

Carmona's coup had the sympathies of the middle classes, but no active support, and the largely unorganized proletariat played no active opposition role.

Italian model

Salazar was a professor who came forward later, in 1928. He took command and set up a government structure modeled on the corporatist structures of fascist Italy. This process was completed in 1933.

"The pattern here is important," Jorge noted. "World War I dealt its cruelest economic blows to the weakest of the European countries—Italy, Spain, and Portugal. And it was precisely in these countries that the ultraright reaction rapidly developed a strength never before seen."

"In Portugal the characteristic features of the totalitarian dictatorship became clear only bit by bit. Under Salazar a unified corporate structure finally emerged. All independent working-class organizations were destroyed on both the political and union levels. 'Unions' were recreated as appendices of the state, as corporations, composed of workers, bosses, and state representatives.



Fascist supporters of Franco. Unlike in Spain, there was never a mass fascist movement in Portugal.

"The National Union, created by Salazar in 1930, became the only political party permitted.

"From 1940 on, there was clearly a typical fascist relationship between the government and the church.

"A powerful political police apparatus emerged, the PIDE [Policia Internacional para a Defesa do Estado—International Police for the Defense of the Portuguese State], modeled on Hitler's Gestapo.

"The regime's economic policies followed the same autocratic pattern."

To understand the Salazarist regime, Jorge pointed out, it is important to note the differences between Hitler's Germany, Mussolini's Italy, Franco's Spain, and Salazar's Portugal. The former three each represented a specific variant of fascism, which is fundamentally a method of maintaining capitalist rule in the context of a deep social crisis.

"In Portugal, unlike Italy and Germany, there was no direct massive confrontation with a proletariat that had missed the opportunity to take political power in its own hands. Salazar did not come to power on the back of a mass petty-bourgeois movement born of desperation in such a situation and utilized by the ruling class to smash the workers organizations.

"There was never a mass fascist party or movement in Portugal. Salazar attempted to establish one, but he never succeeded in building a real party. A closer analogy is found in the 1923-1930 regime of Primo de Rivera in Spain.

"In Spain prior to the civil war Franco's Falange was not a mass party either. The ruling class turned over the responsibility for governing to the military. But during and after the civil war, the Falange was transformed into a mass party counting on the active support of both the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie that confronted the Spanish proletariat. That is why we call the Franco regime a military-fascist dictatorship in its origins.

"I don't think we can call the Portuguese regime military-fascist. I would call it a military-police regime with strong fascist traits. Its downfall is more reminiscent of the overthrow of Primo de Rivera than indicative of what will happen in Spain with the overthrow of the Franco regime.

"Of course, the interrelationship between the regimes was also important. The Salazar regime was inspired by the examples set by the regimes of both Mussolini and Primo de Rivera. Later the Salazar regime aided Franco's bid for power in Spain, and the Portuguese dictatorship in turn

was strongly buttressed by the victory of Francoism. In 1939 the famous Iberian pact was signed."

Crisis of Salazarism

We went on to discuss the more recent history of Spain and Portugal, and the crisis that led to the overthrow of the Salazarist dictatorship.

In the post-World War II period, in order to achieve a rapid accumulation of capital to finance industrialization, both regimes had to rely on a strong repressive state apparatus and on imperialist investment.

The Portuguese economy had traditionally been dominated by British imperialism. With the weakening of British capitalism during the two world wars, French, West German, and U.S. imperialism moved in alongside of British interests.

In Portugal the bourgeoisie granted huge military bases to the U.S. imperialists. Tourism was developed as a big source of income. They also counted on the wages sent home by the large numbers of Portuguese workers who emigrated to other European countries. Out of a total population of less than ten million, 1.5 million work in other countries, primarily in Europe.

The Portuguese economy is also based on direct exploitation of its colonies. This required the support and investments of important imperialist powers—France, Britain, the United States, Germany, and even Japan. In Portugal today, 25 percent of the gross national product is produced by multinational corporations. "But the process of industrialization was much slower in Portugal than in Spain," Maria explained, "and was reflected by the petrification of all the old Portuguese social structures."

"In Spain the Francoist dictatorship did undertake a kind of agrarian reform—in the typical Prussian fashion, from the top down. With the aid of the Francoist apparatus, the Spanish ruling class industrialized the countryside and forced massive social changes, including rapid proletarianization.

"In Portugal, on the other hand, the ruling class opted for a largely different course—trying to keep a yoke on the colonies, sending large numbers of workers abroad, and encouraging tourism.

"As a result, massive social changes have not occurred the same way as in Spain. The peasantry remains much as before. The proletariat is weak. Thus the deepening imperialist crisis has affected Portugal and Spain in different ways."

The sharpening of the crisis of im-



'Shut the window.'

A Capital, Lisbon

Revolutionists discuss the future

perialism in the 1970s, Maria explained, is a reflection of the deepening contradictions among the imperialist powers, the heightened competition. The development of the European Common Market has put great pressure on countries such as Spain and Portugal. They can't leap over their backwardness and they are being left behind in the competition.

"In an effort to be left behind as little as possible," she went on, "the Spanish ruling class tries to increase the rate of exploitation. But in Spain this sharpening of the crisis of imperialism has produced a strong upsurge in the class struggle, especially since 1972.

"Portugal desperately attempted to hold on to its colonies in order to shore up the economy. And the colonial war, in which the Portuguese imperialists tried to repress freedom movements that were part of the worldwide rise of the class struggle, led to an insurmountable crisis. Following 1969 the Portuguese colonial war took a disastrous turn for Lisbon. It has, in fact, been a fourteen-year war, but since 1969 the army grew from 30,000 to 150,000. By 1972 the war ate up 40 percent of the national budget. At the same time, the imperialist powers were cutting back on 'foreign aid.' Politically, socially, and economically, the situation became impossible.

"Even the army itself was in complete ~~disarray~~. The Portuguese army was a much weaker arm of the dictatorship than its Spanish counterpart. In Spain the army is a tremendously powerful force. It was forged in a civil war. The Portuguese army was just an average military dictatorship's army. It couldn't withstand the impact of the colonial war. It was falling apart. The number of deserters in the recent period was extremely significant.

"This is one of the big differences with Spain today—in Spain there is no such process of disintegration of authority in the army.

"In the end, authority of the Salazar regime rested only on the PIDE and nothing more. The bourgeoisie's big fear was that the defeats suffered in the colonies would be translated into a massive upsurge of the class struggle in Portugal itself. The hatred and discontent of the youth was already a danger sign, pointing to future developments in the proletariat."

Caetano experiment

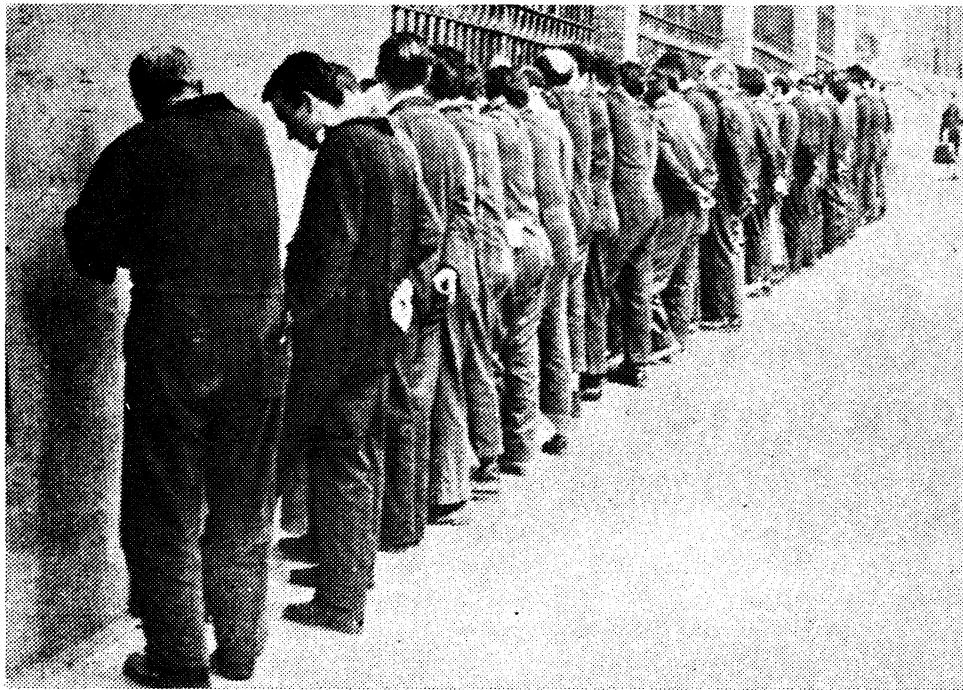
"After Salazar died a few years ago," Jorge continued, "the ruling class tried to institute a few very minor reforms.

"The corporate structures continued to be directly tied to the state, but in reality the working-class organizations were somewhat more separated from those of the bourgeoisie than those in Spain. Within certain limits, the workers have been allowed to elect their own representatives at the factory level.

"Caetano decided to allow some of the leading liberal politicians to come back for a while, like Soares, the leader of the Socialist Party and today the foreign minister. But he was soon forced to leave again.

"Caetano talked of elections in which even the social democrats were going to be permitted to participate—through front organizations, not in their own name. But the structure of the military dictatorship was too rigid to permit reforms without endangering the entire apparatus, and the 'reforms' were shelved.

"But the ruling class soon discovered that as the situation in the colonies deteriorated they faced an impossible situation. They were threaten-



Spanish workers in illegal strike action. Proletariat in Spain is more powerful social force than in Portugal, but Franco dictatorship is also much stronger than was that of Salazar.

ed by a social explosion inside Portugal itself—and the dictatorial regime could not keep the lid on."

Maria continued, "The advice of the world imperialist powers to the Portuguese ruling class was clear: faced with this crisis, you must try to achieve a neocolonialist solution. You must do as the other imperialist powers have done before you—relax the formal political ties in order to better maintain the economic exploitation, as was done in Algeria, for example. If you can dump the unbearable expenses of the war, you can speed up the process of industrialization, fit into the European Economic Community, and most importantly, avoid the social explosion of the Portuguese proletariat that is building up.

"All these calculations are clearly spelled out in Spínola's book."

The political form that the Portuguese rulers thought would most serve their needs, Maria explained, was a kind of Gaullism. Large layers of the Portuguese officer caste have great admiration for de Gaulle and for the way he handled the Algerian revolution. They thought some kind of Gaullist solution might be possible and they counted on the fact that there was no powerful mass movement in Portugal as yet. They calculated that there would be no mass social outburst after a coup.

"The layers of the Portuguese ruling class who backed this alternative," she commented, "have been totally surprised by the revolutionary aspect of the hopes and expectations awakened

in the masses. They have discovered that the masses might soon have them by the throat."

... and Spain

Jorge jumped into the discussion again to point out that these calculations on the part of the Portuguese ruling class and its imperialist allies underscore the enormous differences between Spain and Portugal.

"Here the dictatorship is twenty times stronger. It was forged in the civil war, in the savage confrontation with the peasantry and proletariat. It is based on a severe repression that lasted for years after the civil war, on the fascist unions, army, and police.

"Spanish capitalism is also stronger. There is a much larger financial and industrial capitalist class that has been able to implement a greater industrialization and change the social structure of the country.

"But that means the Spanish working class as a social formation is also stronger than its Portuguese counterpart. The Spanish proletariat is not simply the leadership of the socialist revolution, its motor force, as in Russia. It is now the majority of the population.

"Since the beginning of the 1970s the mass movement has been steadily growing. Thanks to the strength of the state apparatus, the ruling class has been able to hold back a social explosion. But they have not defeated it. Indeed, it becomes stronger and stronger. To hold it back, though, they have to pay a price—they cannot

afford any 'liberalization' measures.

"In Spain there is no alternative except the revolutionary *overthrow* of the regime. The Francoist dictatorship will not simply fall apart as did the Salazarist governmental structures.

"In Portugal, given the colonial war, the weakness of the proletariat and the mass movement, and the depth of the objective crisis facing the bourgeoisie, the ruling class itself decided to dump the Salazarist dictatorship."

Maria pointed to a very interesting fact: all the organizations on the left—even including the Communist Party—have a similar evaluation of the situation in Spain and the differences with Portugal. Everyone recognizes that the Spanish dictatorship will not crumble under the weight of its own rottenness. It will have to be overthrown.

But the left does not agree on what to do. Despite the differences, the CP argues, there *will be* a Spanish Spínola. It's just that the masses have to convince him to come forward by organizing a peaceful general strike! Incredible as it may seem, that is the CP's line in a nutshell. They want to prevent a general strike from taking the road of the Pamplona general strike in June 1973. Just a peaceful strike at the service of a Spanish Spínola!

"It is interesting to note, though, that the Spanish CP is the only CP in Europe that actually calls for a general strike as part of its strategy. Even though it is a thoroughly counterrevolutionary force, it can't just dismiss the needs and demands that arise from the objective situation. Generation after generation of Spanish workers has been raised and educated on the concept of a general strike, and the CP can't just abandon it. They can add a qualifier and say that it must be a *peaceful* general strike, but that idea hardly needs commentary in a country like Spain!"

Role of the CP

Even in Portugal, Jorge pointed out, the Gaullist solution proved to be impossible. The mass upsurge was too strong. The bourgeoisie immediately had to bring in the Communist Party and the Socialist Party to form a coalition government, a popular front. The CP and SP will perform the same service they did after World War II in France and Italy. They will use the CP to slow down, act as finks against, and wear out the mass upsurge. And when it is no longer needed for that

Continued on next page



Portuguese troops join in May Day street demonstrations. 'The central axis of revolutionary program in Portugal is need to build an alliance of workers, soldiers, and peasantry.'

...Spanish revolutionists discuss the future

Continued from preceding page

role, the CP itself will be discarded.

"But that process may take a little while," he added. "The role of the popular front in Portugal will be much more like Spain in the 1930s, or Chile—except it could take longer, given the scope of the crisis faced by Portuguese capitalism.

"But for us that simply means greater possibilities for building a revolutionary Marxist party."

The role being played by the Communist Party in Portugal is already helping to open the eyes of the Spanish proletariat to the real character of the CP and its political line.

"It is politically devastating," Jorge commented. "All the magazines, all the papers, are publishing statements by the Portuguese CP leadership. For example, just a few days ago they made an appeal to the émigré Portuguese workers in Europe not to return home because that would only aggravate the economic crisis and could bring about a collapse of the regime—the capitalist regime!

"The Portuguese CP has been attacking workers who go out on strike, saying such actions are being led by 'left fascists.' In the name of defending 'national interests' they have allowed 3,000 political police to go free, turning them loose to organize themselves in the service of a future repression. In the first days of the coup the CP protected the PIDE members from the masses—in the name of maintaining law and order!

"In terms of foreign policy, the popular-front government has pledged to stay in NATO and to integrate capitalist Portugal into the Common Market. Where the African colonies are concerned, the CP and SP are serving as the agents of imperialism, trying to negotiate a neocolonialist solution for the Portuguese ruling class.

"They have announced that they intend to honor the Iberian pact—although they say they may 'review' it and decide if there is some need to alter it a little.

"By hailing 'Spínola the Liberator' they are disarming the Portuguese masses before the military.

"They have even opposed the most elementary democratic demands of the masses for the formation of councils and committees based on full democracy. They defend and call for respect for the institutions of the Portuguese capitalist state!

"The Portuguese CP uses the same formulations and terminology as the Spanish CP. In Portugal, they have already formed and implemented the 'Pact for Freedom,' as the CP's embryonic popular-front policy in Spain is called.

"This makes it easier to expose the real line of the CP. And it is not an exaggeration to say that the role being played by the Portuguese CP is one of the factors aggravating the crisis of the Spanish CP today."

The ultraleft

"But the right-wing opportunist side of the Stalinists' line is not their only face," Jorge continued. "In recent years, the Portuguese working class has been politically disarmed in almost a classic fashion through a combination of reformism and terrorism. The Portuguese CP was the only Stalinist party in Europe that recognized and supported 'armed struggle.' They even had their own armed detachment, the ARA [Acção Revolucionária Armada—Armed Revolutionary Action] that carried out acts of sabotage.

"There were many other small armed groups, of course. There were splits from the CP, and discontented groups within the army. The Patriotic Front



Barricade in Barcelona during Spanish Civil War of 1930s. CP is using same 'popular front' policy today in Portugal to wear down and wear out the workers' upsurge.

for National Liberation [Frente Patriótica de Libertação Nacional] was led by General Humberto Delgado who was assassinated by Salazar's secret police in 1965. The Maoists had the RAB—Revolutionary Action Brigades. There were even bourgeois terrorist groups.

"During the period following the April 25 coup, most of the small Maoist and ultraleftist groups took a disastrous line. They all refer to the Salazar regime as fascist, yet one of the central slogans they chant is 'Neither Caetano nor Spínola—Power to the workers'—implying that the workers see no distinction between a Caetano and a Spínola.

"They have organized their own little demonstrations isolated from the masses in motion. They have totally downplayed the question of organizing the unions, calling only for the organization of committees outside the unions."

Program for struggle

We asked Jorge and Maria what kind of demands, what kind of program, revolutionary Marxist forces in Portugal today would be focusing on in order to advance the mobilization of the masses and build a revolutionary party.

The leadership of the Liga Comunista has given a great deal of thought and discussion to this question, because for them it is not an abstract debate. Many of the same issues will be posed in Spain with the overthrow of the Francoist dictatorship. They pointed out that their discussions were, of course, limited by their isolation and lack of many concrete details. Yet the general lines of a program for struggle seem clear.

"The central axis of our program in Portugal has to be the need to build an alliance of the workers, the soldiers, and the peasantry," Jorge began. "An alliance concretized under the leadership of the proletariat, an alliance forged in struggle. Our main slogans should promote the unity of workers, soldiers, and peasants in struggle. The necessity of mobilizing the masses to end the colonial war, against inflation, and to win democratic demands directly and naturally poses the need for this alliance.

"We must struggle for all democratic rights, including union rights. The conquest of democratic rights necessarily entails the total destruction of the Salazarist state apparatus. The demand for a constituent assembly based on the secret ballot and universal suffrage down to sixteen years of age leads in this direction.

"This category also includes such

issues as the decision of the Stalinists and Social Democrats to allow Caetano to take refuge in Brazil and to permit the hated political police to go free."

"In relationship to the colonial war," Maria continued, "we must mobilize the masses around a demand for the immediate and unconditional independence of all the colonies. Troops out now!

"We must begin with that type of immediate demand, deepening the mobilization of the masses around such questions. And we must integrate all the economic demands that are being raised by the working masses.

"Rising unemployment and runaway inflation are two serious matters for the working class. The situation in Portugal is probably more ripe than anywhere else in the world today for two of the major demands advanced in the transitional program of the Fourth International: a sliding scale of wages to compensate for the extremely high rate of inflation and a sliding scale of hours to meet the employment needs of the tens of thousands of returning immigrant workers."

Class unity

"The fight for such demands poses the necessity for strong unions," interjected Jorge. "Today in Portugal there are at least fifty different union formations, most of them craft unions. The desire for unity, for class unity, can play an instrumental role in forcing the unification of all these formations. This should be a fundamental aspect of our program. In Portugal today the demand for a congress to unify the labor movement has revolutionary implications—one class: one union."

"It is obvious too that there is a strong movement among big layers of the urban petty bourgeoisie—journalists, professors, and others. This is bound to be extended to the countryside to the peasantry.

"It is necessary to have a program for all these layers in order to mobilize and unify them under the leadership of the working class.

"We would also have to demand the nationalization of the entire educational system. Portugal has one of the most backward educational systems in all of Europe. We demand that all education be free and secular.

"For the soldiers and sailors we must demand an end to the war and full democracy: out of the colonies now; democratic rights for soldiers; the right to organize soldiers and sailors committees to discuss all political questions. We demand the immediate abrogation of all existing military pacts

such as NATO and the Iberian pact.

"Agrarian reform still has a central importance in Portugal. We must demand and help organize the peasantry to fight for 'land to those who work it.'

"But the same people who own the large estates are also part of the financial oligarchy. The expropriation of their land holdings immediately raises the whole question of expropriating the banks and major industry, and managing them through committees of workers who will exercise control. Establishing a state monopoly on foreign trade is clearly necessary.

"Of course, to realize any of these demands, even the most elementary democratic ones, requires the mobilization of the masses independently of the government. We revolutionary Marxists must take the lead here, for no one else will do so. The ultralefts reject the mobilization of the masses to struggle for democratic or other demands that are not 100 percent 'revolutionary.' And they see no need to mobilize the masses to win lesser goals.

"The reformists, on the other hand, fear the masses and have joined with the junta to hold back the mobilizations and eventually crush them in defense of the present government and maintenance of the capitalist system. We place no confidence in any bourgeois government, no hope for Spínola or other 'liberators,' or any Junta of National Salvation.' They can solve none of the fundamental problems facing the masses. Our aim is to unmask them before the masses and break the confidence of the masses in them.

"As against the popular-front, class-collaborationist policies of the CP and SP, we pose the road of the mobilization of the masses and the formation of a workers and farmers government. We concretize this perspective today with the demand that the CP and SP break with the junta and the other bourgeois forces, form a CP-SP government, and mobilize the masses to fight for a concrete program.

"And in this perspective we should point out that the political police are regrouping, and raise the question of the masses organizing their own organs of self-defense through pickets and a workers militia. Our program for workers self-defense is, of course, linked to the demand for democratic rights within the army and the forging of an alliance with the soldiers.

"With this kind of program and perspective, even a small group of revolutionary Marxists can begin to play an enormously important role in Portugal today. Their successes can have a powerful impact on Spain, they would hasten the downfall of Francoism and give a tremendous impulse to our own revolutionary struggles."

For further reading on the lessons of the Spanish Civil War:

The Spanish Revolution

By Leon Trotsky

\$10.00, \$3.95 paper.

Order from: PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Officials & landowners arrested

Rebel troops in Ethiopia win new concessions

From Intercontinental Press
By ERNEST HARSCH

Virtually powerless to counter the actions of rebel military units, Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie made further concessions on July 3 to troops occupying key installations in Addis Ababa.

Units of the Fourth Army Division moved into action on the night of June 28 and occupied one of the two government radio stations, from which they broadcast denunciations of twenty-five officials who had been arrested more than two months earlier by rebel troops and who were still in their custody. By the following day, the Addis Ababa international airport, the telecommunications center, and the second official radio station were also in the hands of military units. The moves were directed by an "armed forces committee" believed to consist of noncommissioned officers and low-ranking commissioned officers.

The pretext for the action was an appeal, made by eight members of the landlord-dominated parliament, that the twenty-five government officials and military officers be released. In communiqués denouncing "conspirators against the Ethiopian people," the rebel military units replied to the appeal by stating: "We are ready to take the necessary action against the detained cabinet ministers."

In the following days, the armed forces committee arrested additional government officials, charging them with corruption and with impeding promised reforms. In a June 30 communiqué signed by units of the army,

navy, air force, imperial bodyguard, police, and territorial army, the junior officers said they were arresting officials who "acted or were conspiring to obstruct the smooth functioning" of Prime Minister Endalkachew Makonnen's government.

According to the July 2 *Washington Post*, "Troops under cover of curfew today [July 1] began a house-to-house hunt to track down rich landowners and businessmen and some government officials."

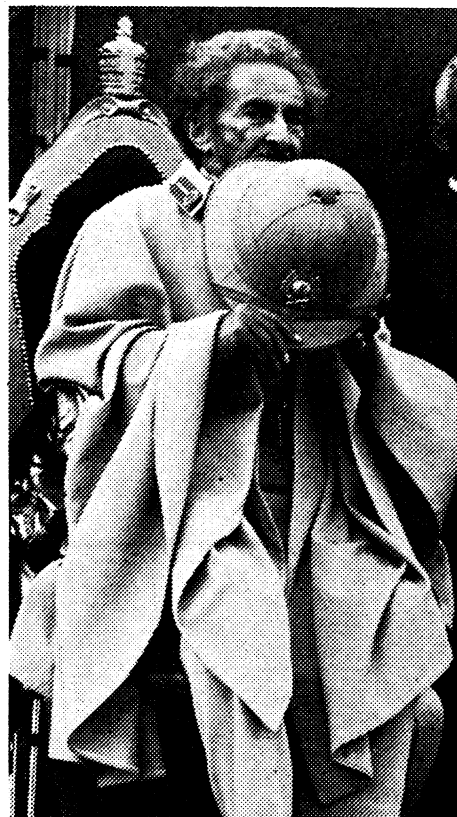
Among those reportedly arrested were Minassie Haile, former minister of foreign affairs who resigned in May; Yilma Deressa, former minister of finance, commerce, and industry; Major Admassie Zeleke, member of parliament; Ato Assafa Difaye, general manager of the government-run Awash Valley Authority; Zewde Gebre Hiwot, president of the Senate; Abbot Habte Mariam Workneh, adviser to the emperor on church affairs; and Ato Abebe Kebede, administrator of the Haile Selassie Foundation. Also arrested was Ras (Duke) Asrate Kassa, president of the twelve-member Crown Council (which advises the emperor), who is considered the spokesman of the aristocracy and the Coptic Christian Church.

Ras Mesfin Sileshi, the former governor-general of Shoa province, who is one of the country's wealthiest landowners and a close friend of the emperor, managed to escape the dragnet of the rebel troops. Mesfin is also head of the reactionary Patriotic Association, a private army financed by landowners. It reportedly numbers

about 100,000, or almost twice the size of the Ethiopian army. A dispatch by Bruno Dethomas published in the July 4 issue of *Le Monde* reported that the rebel troops were making a particular effort to track down Mesfin.

On July 3 the armed forces committee made five demands, four of which Haile Selassie agreed to the same day. The rebel troops called for (1) amnesty for all political prisoners (excluding the arrested officers

and government officials in the hands of the armed forces committee), (2) repatriation of all political exiles, (3) immediate implementation of constitutional reforms outlined by the emperor on March 5, (4) continuous consultation between government officials and the armed forces committee, and (5) continued meeting of the parliament, which was scheduled to begin its summer recess, in order to complete the drafting of a new constitution.



HAILE SELASSIE: Ethiopian emperor's throne is getting shakier.

A radio broadcast announced that Selassie had accepted the last four demands and that he had ordered an "immediate study" of the possibility of a general amnesty for political prisoners, of which there are believed to be several hundred.

While there were rumors in Addis Ababa that the military was preparing a coup, it appears that the rebel units are still reluctant to break entirely with the traditional institution of the monarchy and take power in their own name. The existence of differences among the military units themselves probably adds to their caution.

One evidence of the divisions among the troops was a clash between paratroopers and airmen at Debre Zeit air force base June 20, which left two persons dead and twenty wounded. According to a report in the June 25 issue of *Le Monde*, the paratroopers were in control of the base, a situation that was becoming more and more intolerable to the airmen, some of whom were accused of planning to bomb the imperial palace during the earlier military mutinies.

Israel threatens to make Lebanon 'a battlefield'

By DAVE FRANKEL

Israeli commandos launched a new terror attack on Lebanon July 8, sinking 21 fishing boats in the ports of Tyre, Saida, and Ras a-Shak. The attacks were the latest in what Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin has described as "an epoch of perpetual war against terrorism."

The Israeli war, in which Rabin has vowed to take the offensive, consists of massive collective punishment raids against defenseless villages and refugee camps. The mentality of those conducting these raids was illustrated when Israeli Chief of Staff General Mordechai Gur warned that "if Lebanon gets serious military aid [to protect itself from Israeli raids], the country will become a battlefield."

Major General Binyamin Peled, the commander of the Israeli air force,

also insisted in a July 7 interview on Israel's right to bomb Lebanon. "If they set up an air-defense system, we'll tackle it," the general told reporters. "If we have to tackle it and they place the system in areas where there are people we do not want to hurt, they will be hurt too."

Peled failed to explain why it would be necessary to attack an air-defense system designed to protect populated areas. The only logical reason would be because such missiles would interfere with the bombing of these population centers.

Promises from various Arab regimes to aid in the defense of Lebanon and the provision of Palestinian guerrillas with Soviet-made surface-to-air missiles by Syria have been well publicized. But the main role of these regimes has been to pressure the Pales-

tinians to subordinate their actions to the promised negotiations at Geneva later this year. Thus, Jim Hoagland reported in the July 2 *Washington Post*:

"The Egyptian and Syrian demands on the Palestinians have been kept secret, but Arab diplomatic sources suggest that they may have been more important in maintaining the cease-fire [between Israel and the Egyptians and Syrians] than in the well-publicized threats by both governments to help Lebanon militarily if the Israeli raids continued."

Meanwhile, the Lebanese government, reported the *New York Times* July 8, has "indicated a determination not to let the Palestinian guerrillas establish their own missiles or other heavy military equipment at the refugee camps in Lebanon."

The Palestinians, who have been repeatedly bombed, shelled, rocketed and napalmed by Israel, were told that their defense "was the responsibility of the Lebanese Army."

The Lebanese army, which has been used repeatedly in attempts to suppress the Palestinian movement, does not expect to have any surface-to-air missiles available in the near future. It wants to make sure that the Palestinians also get none, despite the Israeli raids.

The ongoing Israeli aggression against Lebanon has heightened fears of a full-scale Israeli invasion. In a June 27 dispatch from Beirut, prior to the latest raid, *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent John Cooley wrote:

"Lebanon can expect a major Israeli land attack aimed at occupation of part of its southern territory,

including the Arqoub or Mount Hermon district and fertile land around the Hasbani and Litani Rivers, non-American Western intelligence sources warn.

"Israel will present the attack to its people and to world public opinion as a move aimed exclusively at crushing Palestinian guerrilla activity, though its by-product is to include seizure of land and some of Lebanon's potentially most fruitful property, these sources say.

"The timing and scope of the attack will depend largely on Western and Arab reactions—especially Egyptian and American ones—Lebanese officials believe."

Speaking over the Israeli military radio network June 25 Chief of Staff Mordechai Gur declared that Israel reserves the right to declare war on the countries bordering it. "It is essential," he said, "that our neighbors realize that this option is in no way excluded."

His point was emphasized in the June 26 *Christian Science Monitor*. Francis Ofner reported from Jerusalem, "Some Israelis of importance believe that since the Lebanese Government refuses to evict the guerrillas from its territory, 'we shall have to do it.' But such a major and complex operation would probably require a temporary occupation by Israeli forces of parts of Lebanon, possibly also the city of Beirut. According to advocates of such a path, Israeli forces should withdraw only after the destruction of guerrilla centers [i.e., refugee camps], and even then keep southern Lebanon under control to serve as a buffer zone for some time. . . ."



Israeli armor returning from earlier raid into Lebanon.

After Peron: what course for Argentina?

From Intercontinental Press
By GERRY FOLEY

"Crowds that had gathered outside the cathedral began shouting 'Perón! Perón!' as the mass ended and the coffin was carried out. A few women and men shrieked and fainted. The crush of mourners was so great," Jonathan Kandell cabled July 2 to the *New York Times*, "that it took the cortege almost an hour, despite fierce shoving and kicking by policemen, to travel the 10 blocks to the National Congress building, where the general's body was to lie in state."

Kandell noted that "the outpouring of grief appeared temporarily to drown the bitter divisions—within the Peronist movement, between Peronists and anti-Peronists, leftists and rightists—that General Perón was unable to stifle during the nine months of his final Presidential term."

Like the original Bonaparte, the demagogic general achieved his broadest spectrum of support in death. Excommunicated by the Catholic church in the mid-1950s when he cut state subsidies to religion, Perón was given the clergy's highest recommendations as he "passed into eternity."

"And at the service today a different Cardinal, Antonio Caggiano, hailed the late President as a 'Christian,' a 'humanist' and a man who 'was an

able to exploit the conflict between British imperialism, which by then was in full retreat, and American imperialism, which had not yet firmly established its dominance in Argentina, to develop a somewhat nationalistic economic policy. He also had the benefit of the financial and trading advantages Argentina gained as one of the main sources of foodstuffs for a war-ravished Europe. In his conflict with U.S. imperialism and the older sectors of the Argentine ruling class, he based himself on the working class and promoted mass unionization."

In these circumstances, it was both profitable and possible for Perón to offer relatively substantial concessions to the workers. They achieved a standard of living in his first term that was unprecedented in Argentina and has not been equaled since.

In fact, the real wages of Argentine workers began to be cut drastically almost immediately after the violent military coup that overthrew Perón. And this deterioration continued steadily under all the succeeding regimes, in which the army first exercised veto power and then, from 1966 to 1972, held power directly. Thus, the reign of the populist caudillo came to be looked on by the masses as a kind of golden age, or a lost paradise.



Troops guard Peron's coffin



Mass support for Peron stemmed from his support for unionization and concessions that improved living standards of working people during the 1940s.

enemy of violence," Kandell reported in the same dispatch. "He praised General Perón for having negotiated alliances with business and organized labor, and laid full blame for the violence that has wracked the country on left-wing guerrillas."

The Communist party, which during Perón's initial term had attacked him as a "fascist" who allegedly supported Germany against the "democratic" imperialist powers, and then later, in the 1950s, attacked him as a "lackey of Washington," also rallied at last to the "people's general."

"The Communist party of Argentina published a statement," a TASS dispatch in the July 3 *Izvestia* noted, "saying that President Perón had focused his efforts on strengthening democracy and achieving national unity. It was pointed out that the foreign policy of his government [presumably increased trade with the Soviet-bloc countries] corresponded to the interests of Argentina."

Perón, like any Bonaparte, ruthlessly suppressed his political opponents, in particular the workers' leaders and militants who threatened to upset his game of balancing between classes, of basing himself on the support of the workers to advance the interests of the Argentine national capitalists. But his "silencing opponents" was notably ineffective against the Washington-supported military coup that overthrew him in 1955.

In the postwar period, Perón was

As their conditions grew worse, the hard-pressed Argentine poor found a kind of solace and hope in dreams of Perón returning, like a messiah, in a "black airplane." And this cult was fostered by the bureaucracy of the mass trade-union and political movement that he had built up.

The basis of the Perón myth had already disappeared before he was overthrown in the 1950s. Argentina's wartime reserves were exhausted, the conflict between American and British imperialism was settled, and the timid nationalist economic measures that had been carried out were now regarded as a burden rather than a benefit by the decisive sections of Argentine capital. Perón was no longer able to offer concessions to the workers and faced the prospect of sharpening conflicts with labor and growing disillusionment among his most devoted supporters.

Although it was obvious that the capitalists were preparing to overthrow him, Perón was too loyal to the bourgeoisie and his own bourgeois perspectives to permit the workers to mobilize to block the coup. That would have begun a process incompatible with the survival of capitalism in Argentina.

But it was precisely the myth, the cult of Perón, that made him useful to the Argentine bourgeoisie when all of its other institutions had become discredited and it found that it could

no longer rule by military coercion alone. The mythical hero was brought back, not to restore the lost golden age of Argentine labor, but to convince the workers to accept a "discipline" that could no longer be imposed on them by physical coercion.

For labor, the most notable result of Perón's second administration has been not a marked rise in the workers' standard of living but creation of the Social Pact, a wage restraint agreement between the union bureaucrats and the bosses, that is, the "alliances between business and organized labor" for which Cardinal Caggiano praised the former "scourge of Christianity."

In the late 1960s, when it appeared that the trade-union bureaucracy might make a deal with the military regime and abandon Peronism, the caudillo gave the nod to the radical youth. The leader of the rightist bureaucracy, Vador, was assassinated, apparently by left-wing commandos. When Perón needed to suppress the more militant elements in order to maintain the Social Pact, he encouraged the trade-union bureaucracy's goon squads to slaughter his devoted young radical followers.

Perón could only maintain the unity of his largely working-class movement and keep it within the framework of his bourgeois objectives by subordinating it totally to his person and his legend.

Naturally such a system of leadership and control stands in the way of orderly succession. But that disadvantage is an inevitable corollary of the advantages Perón's role represented for the bourgeoisie.

The aura of political legitimacy that Perón sought to bequeath to his last wife is not likely to last much longer than the period of mourning. For a short time, the mass emotionalism, fed by the media and nearly all the bourgeois institutions, may hide the furious struggle among the different factions in the Peronist movement and the scramble of the bourgeois politicians for a new formula that can offer hope for at least temporarily stabilizing the class struggle.

It seems unlikely that a viable solution even in the short term can be found within the framework of the Peronist movement itself. Its credibility as a united national movement has been badly shaken, if not destroyed, by two years of gun battles and assassinations involving the left and right factions. In fact, in March the right-wing Peronists removed the left-wing Peronist governor in Córdoba by an armed coup d'état. Moreover, struggles in the presidential palace of the type likely to develop in the days to come are not suited to producing leaders or formulas that can renew the confidence of the masses in the ability of the official Peronist family to "unite the nation."

Argentine socialists attacked

The Argentine Socialist Workers Party (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—PST) continues to be a prime victim of the wave of terrorist repression against those who have opposed the Peronist wage freeze and so-called social pact.

"Watch it, Bolshies, we're going to kill you," is a typical slogan painted on factory walls where PST members work. In May, four members of the PST active in building a left wing in the trade-union movement were assassinated by right-wing terrorists serving the Peronist union bureaucracy.

The June 26 issue of the PST's weekly *Avanzada Socialista* described some of the latest threats and acts of repression.

In the city of Mar del Plata, the antiguerrilla Condor Commando Group issued a leaflet stating that they were going "to wage an underground fight against all Marxist organizations, especially the PST." *Avanzada Socialista* reported an attempted arson

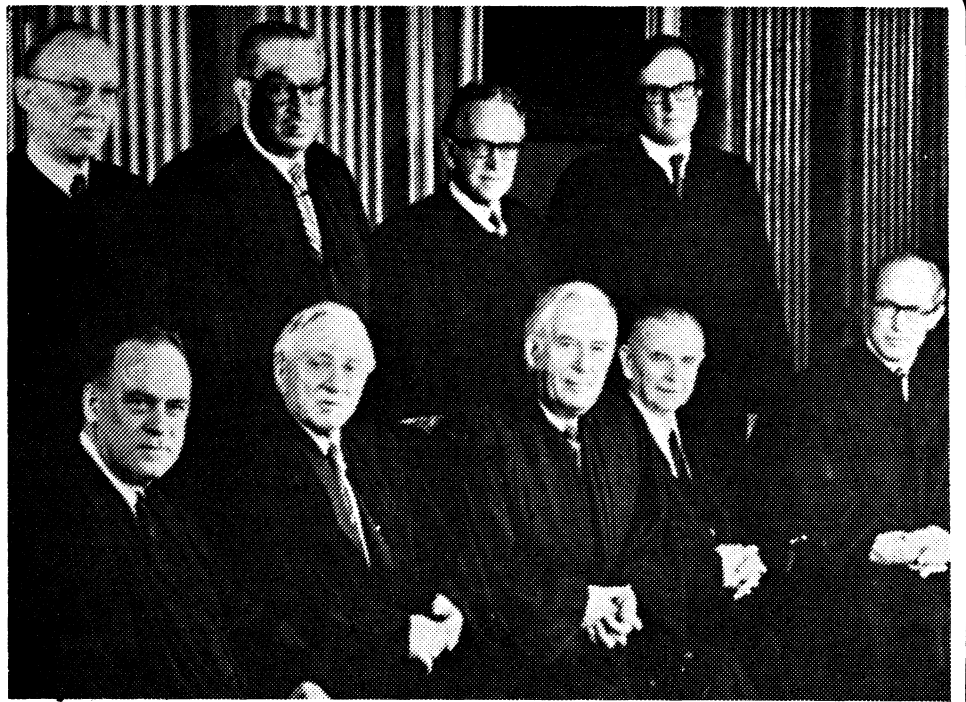
attack on the PST headquarters in that city.

At the San Javier Foundry in Morón, a "Communique to the Socialists" signed by the local Peronist Commando Group stated, "These little sectarian socialist groups now know that the people's government can be meek and tolerant, but not stupid. Therefore we will act regardless of the consequences, regardless of who may be victimized. . . ."

The class-struggle plant committee at this foundry called an assembly at which these threats were denounced.

On June 13 two PST members, Hugo Barros and Roberto Loscertales, were fired from their jobs. *Avanzada Socialista* linked the firings to the fact that the two had been active in building support for a major strike in the area. Barros was able to win reinstatement to his job at a Swift plant after a united protest by workers from the different political tendencies—including Peronist youth—in his plant.

The Nixon Court: whittling away at democratic rights



By DAVE FRANKEL

In September 1971, when Hugo Black and John Harlan announced their retirements from the Supreme Court, Richard Nixon had already appointed two of the Supreme Court's nine justices. These two, Harry Blackmun and Warren Burger, were dubbed by observers "the Minnesota Twins."

Nixon's next two appointees were William Rehnquist and Lewis Powell.

Nixon himself explained that his appointments were designed to strengthen the hand of police and prosecutors, and there is no question that they have done that, although not to the extent that some feared.

A mixed record

The trend to the right in the Supreme Court has been characterized by numerous vacillations. Most notably, in June 1972 the Court ruled that the death penalty, as applied in practice, was unconstitutional, and that the government does not have the right to wiretap "subversives" without a court order. In January 1973 the Court handed down its landmark decision on abortion, and more recently it ruled pay differentials between men and women for the same work unconstitutional.

Less well-known decisions favorable to democratic rights include:

- A ruling that defendants unable to afford a lawyer are entitled to court-appointed counsel even in misdemeanor cases and cannot later be charged with legal costs;
- A decision that neither a lawyer nor a defendant can be held in contempt of court for arguing in court that a judge is biased and prejudiced;
- A decision holding vagrancy statutes and antipicketing ordinances invalid;
- A ruling that parole cannot be revoked without a hearing;
- And a decision that a state college could not deny recognition to a chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) on the basis of the alleged actions of other SDS chapters.

On the other hand, the Court has handed down an increasing number of rulings during the past three years attacking basic civil liberties and whittling away at previous gains. For the first time since the height of the cold war the Court upheld the validity of a loyalty oath requiring a government employee to state, "I will oppose the overthrow of the government."

The Court has made it easier for prosecutors to gain convictions by upholding nonunanimous jury convictions in state trials and by holding that grand juries may use illegally obtained evidence in drawing up indictments. In the most important case of this kind the Court held by a 6-to-3 vote in December 1973 that somebody

arrested on a minor traffic violation may then be searched for evidence of further crimes unrelated to the original arrest, despite the constitutional guarantee against unreasonable searches and seizures.

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Executive Director Aryeh Neier pointed out in an interview with *The Militant*, "Once you allow searches when they happen to stop someone on a traffic violation it means that the police can arbitrarily select somebody they want and stop them for some traffic violation—or for some alleged violation—and anything that follows is legal and admissible in evidence."

Neier notes: "I don't think that these decisions will change things that much. They're only giving the blessing of the law to what the police already do in practice."

Obscenity

Along with the ruling allowing police searches without warrants, the other most widely noted attack by the Nixon court on constitutional rights was its June 1973 decision on obscenity. This decision allows the government to ban material that, "taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, or scientific value." It also allowed courts to apply local rather than uniform national standards, making it easier to ban films, books, and other material.

Edith Tiger, director of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC), insisted, "The obscenity ruling leads straight to censorship. . . . The decision was instrumental in allowing the removal of a pro-Castro book, written by Vicki Ortiz, from school libraries in Miami. Who's to define what's obscene? To Cuban refugees in Dade County a pro-Castro book is obscene."



'Mister, the Supreme Court says if you drive with a burnt-out taillight, you belong to us.'

Other decisions reached by the Nixon Court included a 1972 ruling allowing the government to prevent people from hearing "subversives" by excluding them from the country—this was the case of Belgian Trotskyist Ernest Mandel, who was prevented from giving a lecture tour in the United States.

In another major ruling in 1972 the Court held in a 5-to-4 vote that distributing leaflets could be prohibited in a shopping center. Previously this right had appeared to be a settled principle, at least in law if not in practice.

Also in 1972, the Court ruled, 5-to-4, that antiwar dissenters had no basis for objecting to Army surveillance since they had demonstrated that such surveillance did not inhibit them from expressing their views!

The long list of negative Supreme Court decisions includes restriction of the entrapment defense to cases in which a government agent "actually implants the criminal design in the mind of the defendant," a definition that would have allowed a guilty verdict in the Berrigan case.

Also upheld were weighted voting, giving more say to property owners in certain special governmental bodies; the Bank Secrecy Act, which gives the government access to bank records of individuals and which requires automatic reports to the government on various individual banking transactions; the Hatch Act, which violates the constitutional rights of governmental employees by prohibiting them from engaging in political activity; and a Texas school financing plan that resulted in the expenditures on education varying according to the wealth of the local school districts.

Assessing the Nixon Court

In assessing the Court's overall record, the ACLU's Neier pointed out that although the trend to the right was consistent in all areas, "If you look at the cases [during the past few years] that deal with whether people should be convicted of crimes, practically every one of them is designed to make the process easier."

ACLU general counsel Norman Dorsen points out in the Winter/Spring 1974 issue of the *Civil Liberties Review*, "Judged by the standards of the past, the Burger Court is middle-of-the-road." He repeats, "It is about as receptive to claims under the Bill of Rights as the Court ever was prior to 1957."

As for the tendency among liberals to romanticize the Warren Court, NECLC national council member David Rein recalled in the December 1972 *Bill of Rights Journal*:

"The Warren Court's record includes such decisions as sustaining the con-

stitutionality of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and sending Lloyd Barenblatt, Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson to jail for refusing to answer whether they were Communists. The Court also sanctioned New Hampshire's sending Willard Uphaus to jail for refusing to turn over a list of the guests at his summer camp.

"It upheld convictions for Communist Party membership under the Smith Act, and for denying Communist Party membership under the Taft-Hartley Act. It sanctioned the deportation of aliens for past membership in the Communist Party and the deprivation of their social security benefits after deportation. . . .

"In the cases of Samuel Roth and Ralph Ginzburg, it sent individuals to jail for allegedly publishing obscene literature. It could find no constitutional barrier to successive prosecutions for the same offense by both



In 1972 the Court ruled that antiwar protesters had no grounds to sue for an end to Army surveillance since such spying had failed to intimidate them!

State and Federal Governments.

"The Court also held that aliens could be denied suspension of deportation on the basis of undisclosed confidential information and because of a claim of a Fifth Amendment privilege. . . .

"The Court also said that security considerations would permit the discharge of a cafeteria worker in the Navy Yard without a hearing or a statement of reasons."

Thus, while the Nixon court represents a definite step to the right, it is not out of line with its predecessors. The impact of its rulings will depend primarily on the strength with which the radicalization of the 1960s makes itself felt in new sections of society in the coming years.

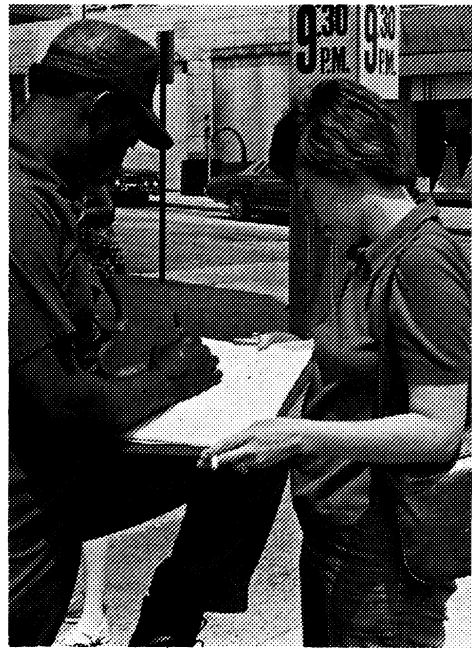
SWP files petitions in Texas, Mo.

Pa. ballot drive nets 65,000 signatures

By VALERIE LIBBY

PHILADELPHIA— Supporters of the Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Party campaign are celebrating the successful completion of the largest petitioning effort the party has ever carried out in this state.

To secure ballot status for the statewide socialist slate of Roberta Scherr for governor, Christina Adachi for U.S. Senate, and Fred Stanton for lieutenant governor, the SWP was required to collect signatures equal to



Militant/Jon Flanders

Veteran petitioners found it easier than ever before to collect signatures to put socialists on the ballot.

2 percent of the vote in the last election—a total of 44,000.

At a victory celebration held here June 28, a huge banner reading "65,000" was suspended amid streamers and balloons, announcing the actual number of signatures gathered.

This undertaking was made possible largely by the expansion of the SWP to Pittsburgh, where a branch of the party was set up last year.

Pittsburgh campaign supporters collected more than 5,000 signatures during a four-day blitz at the University of Pittsburgh and went on to collect 20,000 more in the course of the drive. Also, two teams of volunteers spent a combined total of 680 hours petitioning in April and May.

The final effort was made in the first weeks of June, when campaign supporters throughout the state petitioned several days a week.

Gubernatorial candidate Roberta Scherr, speaking at the victory meeting, pointed out that veterans of previous socialist campaigns found petitioning easier this year than ever before.

"A number of people we asked to sign our petitions made comments like 'Everyone has the right to run,' and 'We need a new party.'"

"People who weren't familiar with the SWP were often familiar with *The Militant* newspaper and were willing to sign because of that," Scherr said.

"I think this changing attitude and the relative ease of this petition drive reflects the anger of working people

over Watergate and inflation and growing distrust of the two-party system."

Also speaking at the celebration was Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP presidential candidate. Greetings were received from the Missouri and Massachusetts SWP campaign committees, which have also been involved in petitioning drives.

In response to an appeal for funds by Jay Johnson of the Young Socialists for Scherr and Adachi, supporters contributed \$240 to help put out new campaign literature.

The Missouri SWP campaign turned in 29,014 signatures to the secretary of state's office in Jefferson City on June 27, far surpassing the legal requirement of 18,000 signatures for ballot status. This is the first time the SWP has petitioned to get on the ballot in Missouri.

The petitions were presented to Secretary of State James Kirkpatrick by Barbara Mutnick, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate.

The filing and a news conference in Jefferson City received extensive media coverage. KTVI television broadcast an interview with Mutnick as their lead story on the evening local news. The filing was also reported in the major newspapers in several cities. In Joplin City it was carried on the front page of the *Joplin Globe*.

Sixty people attended a victory

meeting in St. Louis on June 28. Speakers were Mutnick; Stephanie Coontz, associate editor of the *International Socialist Review*; Gary Sage of the Kansas City Young Socialists for Mutnick; and Norton Sandler, SWP campaign director. Four hundred dollars were contributed to help defray the costs of petitioning.

In Austin, Tex., the SWP delivered petitions bearing 55,661 signatures to the secretary of state June 27. At a news conference on the capitol steps, SWP gubernatorial candidate Sherry Smith said:

"The success of our petition drive represents an important victory for everyone who supports our right to run candidates and who opposes the undemocratic laws that attempt to give the Democrats and Republicans an electoral monopoly."

"We have fulfilled the stringent Texas ballot requirements. We must now make sure that the secretary of state's office certifies us for ballot status."

The June 30 *Houston Chronicle* reported that the secretary of state's office intends to "do more checking than has usually been the case in the past on signatures on petitions." The law requires 34,095 signatures to put a party on the ballot in Texas.

The *Daily Texan*, the University of Austin campus paper, quoted an election official as saying that "because they have so many signatures, it looks 'pretty certain' that the SWP will be on the ballot in November."

Mass. officials attempt to bar socialist candidate

By RICH CAHALANE

BOSTON—At a well-attended news conference at the Massachusetts statehouse July 2, Socialist Workers Party candidates Don Gurewitz, running for governor, and Ollie Bivins, nominee for lieutenant governor, denounced an attempt by state officials to keep the party's congressional candidate in the 8th C.D.; Randi Dolph, off the November ballot.

On June 28, only two working days before the final deadline for filing petitions with the secretary of state, Dolph was told that many of the signatures collected on her behalf were "invalid."

Campaign supporters had collected 4,500 signatures, nearly 50 percent more than the legally required 3,029. Officials at the various city halls where the validation process takes place ruled out almost 1,600 names, leaving the socialist candidate 108 signatures short of the required number.

On July 1, SWP campaign supporters rechecked the signatures and found that 200 signatures had been crossed out for no apparent reason at all. Another 200 were disqualified because they failed to meet certain arbitrary

standards. For example, one person's signature was invalidated because he signed his name "Bill" instead of "William."

One city hall validation worker openly boasted, "We only disqualify nicknames and abbreviations on the socialist petitions. If somebody signs like that for a Democrat or Republican, we let it go through."

In his statement to the media, Gurewitz said, "It is clear that a conscious effort was made to discriminate against the Socialist Workers Party by applying standards to our petitions that are not applied to the Democrats and Republicans."

"A substantial number of what we have determined are valid signatures were illegally thrown out in an attempt to keep Randi Dolph off the ballot."

The SWP will be able to argue its case for revalidation at a July 16 hearing of the state ballot law commission.

"We have completely complied with every aspect of these undemocratic election laws," Ollie Bivins told the media. "In fact, we have well over the required number of valid signatures to place our candidate on the ballot. We

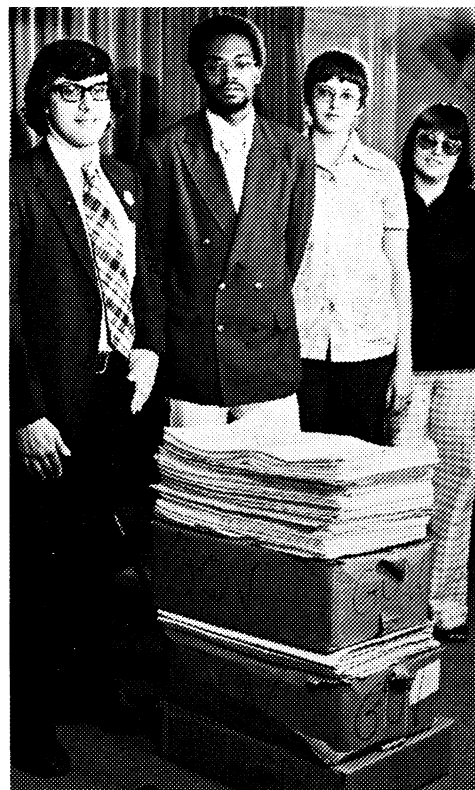
are confident that broad public support will force the state to uphold our appeal and place Randi Dolph on the November ballot."

In a related development, the Massachusetts SWP learned July 9 that its petitions to place Jeannette Tracy Bliss on the ballot for Congress from the 9th C.D. have been challenged by the "U. S. Labor Party."

"U. S. Labor Party" is the name used in election campaigns by the National Caucus of Labor Committees, a bizarre political sect that has carried out armed attacks on the SWP, the Communist Party, and other radical and socialist groups. It is running a candidate, Larry Sherman, in the 9th C.D.

In a written challenge sent to the state government but never to the SWP, the Labor Committee stated, "We will show a number of instances of fraudulent signatures which will disqualify Ms. Bliss from appearing on the ballot."

No proof was offered for the Labor Committee's charge. The SWP will argue against the challenge at the July 16 hearing of the state ballot law commission.



Militant/Joanna Rohrbach

Socialist candidates Don Gurewitz, Ollie Bivins, Randi Dolph, and Jeannette Tracy Bliss with completed petitions.

Ind. SWP petition signers threatened

By DOUGLAS PENSACK

BLOOMINGTON, Ind.—The Monroe County clerk, evidently in collusion with the FBI, has launched a blatant attack on the Indiana Socialist Workers Party's right to ballot status.

On June 28, as part of its effort to place Harold Schlechtweg on the ballot for Congress from the 7th C.D., the SWP campaign turned in nominating petitions with 909 signatures gathered in Monroe County.

On July 2, the *Bloomington Herald-Telephone* reported an announcement by county clerk Jamie Murphy that people could remove their names from the SWP's petitions by signing a form

at her office. Murphy is head of the Monroe County Democratic Party.

The *Herald-Telephone* also reported: "Mrs. Murphy noted that the FBI checks out the names on such political petitions."

This threat of FBI harassment is designed not only to induce people to remove their names from the socialist petitions but also to intimidate others from signing in the future, since the petition drive is still going on.

Murphy also claimed that those who signed the petitions did not know what they had signed, specifically that "they pledged to support Socialist Workers Party candidates in the election."

At a July 5 news conference, Harold Schlechtweg spoke out against the attempted intimidation. The exact wording of the petitions, he pointed out, was dictated by the Democrats and Republicans, not chosen by the SWP. But to construe a petition signature as a commitment to vote for the SWP would clearly be illegal since it would violate an individual's right to cast a secret ballot for the candidate of his or her choice.

Schlechtweg also denounced as illegal any FBI harassment of people for supporting the SWP's right to be on the ballot.

Ohio socialist protests trial of Black activist

By DORIS MARKS

CINCINNATI—James Hardy, a well-known Black activist here and founder of a group called Solving Black Problems Now, was arraigned July 2 on trumped-up charges of "intimidating a public official."

Hardy allegedly sent letters to two Cincinnati officials. Under a rarely used Cincinnati law, this constitutes harassment. Police have refused to reveal the contents of these letters.

Hardy turned himself in after hearing on the radio that he had been indicted and was being sought by police. No attempt had been made to contact him at home or at work.

At the time of his arrest Hardy was on parole from Lucasville prison after serving nine months of a one-to-ten-year sentence. He had been framed up in 1972 on a charge of "entering an unoccupied building with intent to commit burglary."

During his trial the prosecution introduced evidence that had been thrown out during grand jury hearings. In addition, it was discovered

that a police informer had infiltrated Solving Black Problems Now.

Since his release on parole early this year, Hardy had given support to the United Farm Workers and to demonstrations in the Black community against police brutality. His activities were limited by the terms of his parole, which prohibited him from speaking in public.

Interviewed in jail by *The Militant*, Hardy said he was probably being framed again in order "to get me out of the way altogether" by having his parole revoked. He also said he had been held in solitary confinement and under "terrifying" conditions.

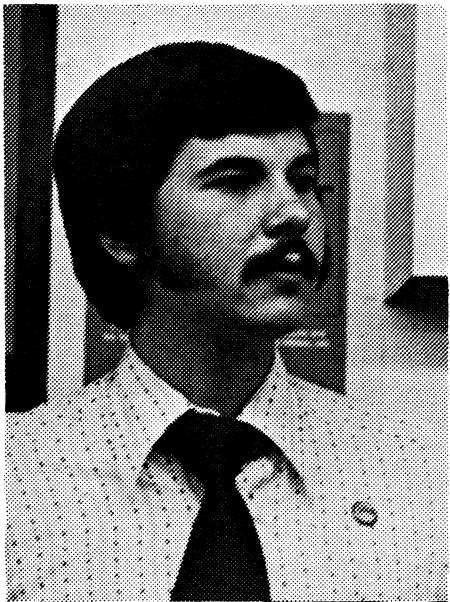
When Hardy was arraigned July 2, his lawyer urged that no bail be set, since by turning himself in Hardy had shown he had no intention of skipping town. The judge, however, set bail at the extraordinarily high figure of \$25,000.

Charles Mitts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Ohio's 1st C.D., was present in court and protested this outrageous act. Six cops grabbed Mitts and dragged him before the judge, who sentenced him to 30 days in the county jail for "contempt."

These flagrant violations of civil liberties were reported in both Cincinnati dailies and on all three television stations. Mitts was released from jail the next day and all penalties were dropped.

At a news conference on the steps of the Hamilton County courthouse after his release Mitts stated, "It's no mystery why anyone would be outraged by the blatant frame-up of James Hardy. I think most Americans are disgusted with the capitalist 'justice' that treats the Watergate criminals with kid gloves while people like James Hardy, guilty of absolutely nothing, are thrown into filthy, dehumanizing jails."

"I intend to use every means open to me as a candidate to expose this frame-up and demand that Hardy be freed," Mitts said.



Militant/Janice Cline

Socialist candidate Charles Mitts was jailed for denouncing outrageous bail set for frame-up victim.

District 1 militants join SWP campaign rally

By JEANNIE REYNOLDS

NEW YORK—One hundred sixty supporters and friends of the Socialist Workers Party campaign celebrated the Lower East Side campaign of Katherine Sojourner for Congress on June 29.

Sojourner is running against Democratic incumbent Ed Koch in Manhattan's 18th C.D., which includes School District 1. A seven-year struggle has been waged in District 1 for Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese control of the schools.

Held in the heart of the Lower East Side, the celebration attracted activists from the District 1 struggle and raised more than \$500 for the campaign. Ten people signed up as new supporters of the campaign, including several members of the Orchestre Cimarron, the band that performed at the celebration.

"District 1 is a real problem for the tiny minority who rule this country," Sojourner told the rally. "They fear the mobilization of this community; they fear the struggle by oppressed minorities to control the edu-

cation of their children. It threatens the white power structure."

"It is a militant, fighting struggle. It is not controlled by any politician or party, and it has a program independent from the two capitalist parties."

"One of the capitalists' worst fears," she continued, "is the example that the Lower East Side community is setting across the country. They are afraid that actions by Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Asians, Indians, and Chicanos demanding control of their own institutions will spread."

Georgina Hoggard, a pro-community-control member of the District 1 school board, also addressed the meeting. In her remarks she stressed the ongoing struggle in the Lower East Side for parent and community control.

Also bringing greetings to the gathering was Nicomedes Sánchez. Sánchez was one of the candidates on the Por Los Niños (For the Children) slate in the recent school board elections in District 1.

Campaigning for socialism

VINCE EAGAN REPLIES TO 'GREAT SPECKLED BIRD': The June 17 issue of the *Great Speckled Bird*, a widely circulated alternative newspaper published in Atlanta, carried an article on the Georgia gubernatorial race.

Stating, "We shall only deal with the 'serious' contenders," the article failed to say one word about the campaign of Vince Eagan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor.

In a letter printed in the June 24 *Bird*, Eagan responded that the article had "omitted the candidate who would be of most interest to the majority of *Bird* readers. I am the only Black candidate, the only young candidate, the only one not running in either of the two capitalist parties, the only socialist candidate."

"What are your criteria for 'seriousness'?" Eagan asked. "Who is a more serious candidate, an old white racist whose main qualifications for office are riding a bicycle backwards and autographing axe handles (Lester Maddox), or a young activist in the struggle against police terror in the Black community who speaks for the working people of Georgia?"

After pointing to the undemocratic election laws that deny the SWP a place on the Georgia ballot, Eagan concluded: "I challenge the *Bird* editors to decide whether you are serious—serious that this society is rotten and corrupt, and that you're willing to fight to change it. If you are serious, there's only one candidate for governor you can support. There's only one candidate who stands for Black control of the Black community, abolishing the Stake-out Squad and other police terror units, mass mobilizations of women to demand liberation and passage of the ERA, a total end to US intervention in the affairs of the colonial world, from Palestine to Mozambique, a complete escalator clause in all union contracts so wages won't be eaten up by inflation, opening up the books of the energy corporations from Exxon to Georgia Power, (and) taking over these corporations and running them in the public interest instead of in the interests of super-profits. . . ."

MICHIGAN SOCIALIST DEMANDS DEBATE WITH CONYERS: Last April Democratic Congressman John Conyers publicly agreed to debate SWP candidate Hattie McCutcheon, his only announced opponent in Michigan's 1st C.D. Ever since then Conyers has stalled on setting a time and place for the debate.

In response to these delaying tactics, McCutcheon and her supporters picketed meetings on June 28 and June 30 at which Conyers appeared. The June 30 picket line was held outside the Fisher Theater in Detroit where "An Evening with the Stars, A Salute to Congressman John Conyers" was being held.

A number of passers-by took socialist campaign literature and seven signed cards endorsing the SWP slate. Among the endorsers was Arthur Bowan, president of the student-faculty council at Wayne State University.

As a result of the picketing, a Con-

yers aide agreed to "tentatively" schedule the debate for late September at Wayne State University.

JULY 4: REVOLUTIONARY & COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY THOUGHTS: On the one-hundred-ninety-eighth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* asked a number of St. Louisans how well they thought the United States had lived up to the ideals of the declaration. Their responses were printed on the front page of the paper on July 5.

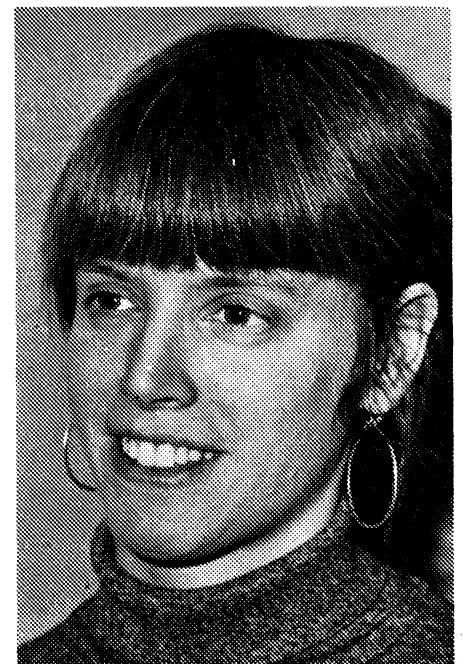
"I'd say we are healthy, but also we must recognize the many things in this world that challenge that health every day," was the blunt answer from Mayor John Poelker.

William Danforth, chancellor of Washington University, felt that "our system of checks and balances has worked very well. . . ."

Cardinal John Carberry, Catholic archbishop of St. Louis, took the opportunity to denounce the Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion. "I am confident that our Founding Fathers (!) would have disagreed with this ruling," he said. "and that in their concern for the equal rights of all, they also had in mind the unborn child."

A completely different viewpoint was voiced by Barbara Mutnick, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate from Missouri. The *Globe-Democrat* quoted her as saying:

"Basically, in 198 years America



Barbara Mutnick, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Missouri.

has been transformed from a country once seen as the most progressive and democratic to one that is the strongest force in the world for reaction, from a colonial people struggling against tyranny to a country whose government napalmed the Vietnamese and props up dictatorships in Chile, Spain, South Africa and South Vietnam. . . .

"In almost 200 years, because women fought for the vote and blacks fought for civil rights, certainly some strides forward have been made. But equality and justice are still not a reality for these segments of our society."

Mutnick was both the only socialist and the only woman interviewed by the paper.

—ANDY ROSE

Nationality and class: the two sides

By TONY THOMAS

In recent months we have seen an increased interest in Marxist ideas among many activists in the Black struggle.

An example of some of the new thinking was the discussion that took place at the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) conference held in May in Washington, D. C. Most conference participants saw Marxism as relevant to the Black struggle, and most saw capitalism as the cause of the problems facing Black people and socialist revolution as the answer.

Many of those at the conference have been activists in the Black movement for some time. Their increased interest in Marxism comes from an understanding that ending racial oppression is going to take a much more thoroughgoing change in U. S. society than they once thought.

The concessions won by the civil rights movement have not brought about a qualitative change in the situation of Black people. The election of Black mayors and other Black officials across the country has not brought an end to unemployment, low wages, inferior housing, and police brutality. And the formal independence won by many African countries has not brought an end to imperialist exploitation in Africa.

In addition, with the energy crisis and rising inflation in this country, many Blacks are becoming more conscious that it is not only Black working people but also white workers who suffer from the ills of the capitalist system.

Important questions

At the ALSC conference many questions flowing from this new consciousness were discussed. What types of revolutionary organizations are needed? Should they be all-Black or multinational? What is the relationship between the Black struggle and the struggle of white workers? What types of struggles can best mobilize working people? How can Black unity in action be achieved?

In this and future articles we will take up many of these questions, which are important in formulating an effective strategy for the Black liberation movement.

This article will deal with what was probably the most discussed topic at the conference: the question of the relationship between the struggle for Black liberation and the struggle of the working class as a whole. That is, to what extent is the Black struggle part of the "class" struggle and to what extent is it a "race" or "national" struggle.

This question of the relationship between the Black struggle and the class struggle is not a new one. In fact, it has been the core of discussions on Black liberation by Black activists and different radical political tendencies for more than 50 years.

For example, prior to the Russian revolution



San Diego sanitation workers. Power of Black struggle can be maximized by linking demands of Blacks as workers and as an oppressed nationality.

the radical movement in the United States held that Black oppression was only a "class" problem, part of the struggle between the workers and the capitalists. The socialists of that time did not envision any mobilization of Black people distinct from that of the white workers, and they thought nothing could be done about the problem of discrimination and inequality this side of socialism.

Today, modified forms of the same view still exist. Some people who consider themselves Marxists still hold that struggles around questions affecting all Black people, or demands embodying the desire of Black people to take control over their destinies (such as the demand for Black control of schools in the Black community), are at best subordinate and unimportant to the larger struggle for socialist revolution, and at worst diversions antithetical to the class struggle.

At the other extreme there have been those who reject the perspective of class struggle and see the Black struggle as purely a "race" or "national" struggle. This view holds that the Black struggle is simply a struggle against racial, cultural, and political forms of oppression, in which the interests of all Black people are counterposed to those of all whites, regardless of their economic position or political outlook.

Both of these theories are incorrect.

The Afro-American struggle is *both* a national struggle and part of the class struggle. It has a dual character, reflecting both the national and class aspects of Black oppression.

A look at history

The dual nature of the oppression of Black people is rooted in the historical experience of Blacks.

Racist ideas were first advanced as a justification for the system of chattel slavery. Racist explanations for slavery were used to justify oppression of *all* Blacks, both slave and free.

After the abolition of slavery, racist oppression continued. At first, the Northern industrialists allied themselves with the Blacks against the slaveholders, and supported freeing the slaves and the process known as "reconstruction." But after they gained complete control over the government and economy of the South, these Northern industrialists reverted to the most brutal practices of racial oppression against Afro-Americans.

Their motives were similar to those of the slaveholders. They wanted to use racism to enforce the extreme economic exploitation of Black labor in the South.

The capitalists also had other reasons for wanting to impose racism in the last part of the nineteenth century. This was the period of the rise of industrial capitalism and the development of the U. S. as a world imperialist power. It was a time of massive struggles by workers—many with radical socialist views—and by farmers organized in the Populist movement.

Racism served the purpose of helping the capitalists prevent a coming together of the struggle of

the white workers and farmers and the Afro-American people. In addition, the encouragement of racism in the 1870s helped pave the way for acceptance of U. S. imperialism's subjugation of colonies in the Caribbean and Asia. The racist ideas underpinning white supremacy over Blacks were extended to justify American imperialist domination of Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Philippines, and other countries inhabited by nonwhites.

Lenin's view

It was Lenin's view that the emergence of Afro-Americans as a nationality was directly linked with the rise of U. S. imperialism following the Civil War.

He wrote that Afro-Americans "should be classed as an oppressed nation, for the equality won in the Civil War of 1861-65 and guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic was in many respects increasingly curtailed in the chief Negro areas (the South) in connection with the transition from the progressive, pre-monopoly capitalism of 1860-70 to the reactionary, monopoly capitalism (imperialism) of the new era. . . ." (Volume 23, pp. 275-6, Lenin's *Collected Works*.)

The Black nationality was created, over time, by American capitalism in its drive for cheap Black agricultural, and later industrial, labor and its need to dampen the class struggle as a whole in this country.

Black people were drawn together from diverse national and tribal groupings in Africa, forced into slavery, and denied equality both in the rural post-Civil War South and in the urban ghettos of today. This common experience as a people forged the Black nationality.

This process has led to the dual form of Black oppression. On the one hand, Black people have been separated out as a people to be discriminated against. At the same time, one of the major aspects of this discrimination is the superexploitation Black people suffer on the job. Along with other oppressed nationalities, they are the most exploited sector of the American working class.

Both the class and national aspects of Black oppression are rooted in economic exploitation. Racial discrimination is a tool of the ruling class to perpetuate class oppression. Thus, the national struggle of Black people for liberation is fundamentally a manifestation of and a part of the class struggle.

The national and class aspects of the Black struggle are completely intertwined with one another. This is all the more true in recent decades, with the migration of masses of Black people to the cities, where they now make up a key sector of the working class.

It is important to note that, along with this shift of Black people off the land and into a position of being industrial and service workers in the cities, there has been a rise in nationalist consciousness.

Among Black people today, there is a higher degree of nationalist consciousness than ever before; that is, a higher consciousness of Blacks as a



Black nationality was created through a history of superexploitation, first as slaves, then as most exploited section of working class.

of Black oppression

people having a separate identity, with a need to unite as a people to fight for liberation.

As workers in the cities, Black people have a much greater social weight and potential political strength than was the case when they were concentrated in the rural South. This is one of the main reasons for the rise in Black awareness and for the raising of such slogans as "Black power" and "Black control of the Black community."

The development of nationalist consciousness is an extremely progressive thing, because it reflects the determination on the part of the most oppressed sector of the working class to unite and fight against the oppressor. In a sense, the rise of nationalist sentiment is a form of rising class consciousness among Blacks.

Struggles of Black people for better housing, schools, jobs, and for higher pay can play a role not only in winning concessions for Blacks but also in helping to mobilize other workers. This is all the more so because many of the demands raised by Blacks are demands that meet the needs of all working people.

The struggles of Black people have played a big role in inspiring others to struggle. The civil rights and "Black power" struggles of the 1960s helped give impetus to the student and antiwar movements and to the struggles of the Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Native American peoples. Today, Black workers are in the forefront of many of the union battles against inflation and other problems facing working people.

Blacks are working people inflicted with an intensification of their class oppression through national oppression. This means that the struggle of Blacks both as workers and as an oppressed people has a deeply revolutionary potential, because the two struggles have the objective tendency to merge in an assault on capitalism. It also means that Black people will play a vanguard role in the American revolution against capitalism.

Program

The potential power and effectiveness of the combined class and national struggle of Black people will not be realized unless a revolutionary leadership within the Black liberation movement helps lead the struggle in the direction of linking together both aspects of the struggle.

Such a strategy is outlined in the *Transitional Program for Black Liberation*, a resolution adopted by the Socialist Workers Party in 1969.

This program calls for the type of changes in society that can meet the national and class needs of Afro-Americans, pointing out that these changes cannot be fully realized without a socialist revolution.

The program also calls for support to the independent organizations of Black people, including calling on Blacks to break from the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and form an independent Black political party. Such a party could maximize immediate gains for Black people and would encourage independent political action by the labor movement.

The SWP's program for dealing with unemployment is an example of how the class demands of Black and other workers and the national demands of Afro-Americans can be combined.

On the one hand, the resolution raises the class demand of jobs for all with union-scale wages. It points out that the way to achieve this is by shortening the workweek and dividing up the available work among all who want to work, with no reduction in pay. To further increase employment it calls for a crash program to build better schools, housing, and hospitals, especially in the Black community.

The resolution points out that these class de-



Militant/Lynn Henderson

Atlanta protest. Police brutality is one of the forms of oppression Blacks face as a people.

mands against unemployment relate to the needs and problems of Afro-Americans both as an oppressed people and as a section of the working class. At the same time, the unwillingness of the capitalist rulers to grant such reasonable demands poses the necessity of the workers taking power out of their hands.

However, the resolution points to the need for a special *national* demand in regard to unemployment, the demand for preferential hiring, promotion, and job training for Black workers.

This is because of the fact that Afro-Americans need not only equal access to such opportunities, but preferential treatment in order to help make up for the years of discrimination against Black people. Linked with the demand of jobs for all, this national demand attacks not only capitalist unemployment in general, but the racist structure of hiring and the job-trust character of the skilled trades.

'Black workers take the lead'

Many Black radicals are now realizing the importance of Black workers in the Black and class struggles, and a reflection of this has been the popularity of the slogan, "Black workers take the lead."

Black workers are the most numerous segment of the Black community. They also have greater social power than any other segment because of their role in production.

At the same time, it would be wrong to take a mechanistic view of the way masses of Black workers will become involved in struggles against the ruling class. Black workers will not "take the lead" just because some Black radicals say they think this should be so.

Furthermore, other sections of the Black community have played and will continue to play leadership roles in significant struggles. Black student struggles, GI struggles, and struggles of welfare mothers and the unemployed all play a valuable role.

The organization and mobilization of Black workers will take place with its own dynamic, in response to the assault of the capitalist class. This process will be both independent from and related to the ups and downs of the class struggle as a whole.

What can revolutionary-minded Blacks do to spur the mobilization of Blacks and other workers? This will be the subject of one of the articles in this series.

The next article will take up the question, "Will the white workers play a revolutionary role?"

New attack on Wounded Knee leaders

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Federal authorities, in a stepped-up attack against Russell Means, have lodged new charges against the American Indian Movement (AIM) leader and asked U.S. District Judge Fred Nichol to jail him.

Means is on trial with Dennis Banks for taking part in last year's seizure of Wounded Knee, S.D.

Government attorney R.D. Hurd asked in a motion that Means's bail be revoked or that he be confined to St. Paul and Minneapolis for the duration of the trial. Judge Nichol, ignoring defense protests, set a July 12 hearing date to decide whether he will jail Means or restrict his travel.

The government motion claims that Means has missed court because of an arrest in South Dakota and that he has failed to file travel itineraries with the court.

Its real purpose is to stymie the defense effort and AIM as a whole by putting Means behind bars.

The motion is the latest in a series of moves against Means, who faces a new set of frame-up charges in South Dakota. The AIM leader was arrested after a fight in a private club and charged with assault.

In an interview with *The Militant* Means described what happened.

He said he and several Indians decided to go to the club, which is on reservation land, to see if it discriminated against Indians.

"They served us food and drink," Means said, "and did not mention one word that we had to leave until two city policemen came in." The police were from Mission, S.D., and had no right to be on the reservation land, Means said.

When Means approached the cops to find out what they wanted, he was told by one of them, Tom Rhoads, "I'd as soon kill you as talk to you." A fight ensued after Rhoads had shoved Means and went for his gun. One of the Indians present, Harvey Kills In Water, was shot in the back by Rhoads before the Indians succeeded in chasing the cops away. The Indians brought Kills In Water to the hospital, where he was reported to be in satisfactory condition.

The following day the FBI issued warrants for the arrest of Means and another man, Kenneth Kane. Means's attorney went before Chief Rosebud Tribal Judge Mario Gonzales asking that Federal authorities be prevented from arresting Means.

"We cited the 1868 treaty and the Oglala Sioux Tribal Code," defense attorney Mark Lane told *The Militant*. Both the treaty and the code state that the tribal court must determine whether a felony has been committed before an Indian can be handed over to the U.S. government.

In what Lane calls a "historic decision," Judge Gonzales issued a restraining order June 25 prohibiting the government from arresting Means and citing the 1868 treaty. Lane said that if upheld, the ruling "would protect Indians all over the country from the long arm of the federal government reaching onto the reservations."

Federal officials moved quickly, however, to nullify the tribal judge's injunction. U.S. District Judge Andrew Bogue of South Dakota issued an order canceling the injunction. The defense plans to appeal this illegal order.

Other incidents in South Dakota underline the type of police-state tactics being used against the Indian movement. On June 27, the day the tribal judge had scheduled a hearing on the Means case, all telephone service was shut off into the Rosebud Reservation, reportedly on orders of a high-ranking Bureau of Indian Affairs official.

Attorney Larry Leventhal told *The Militant* he believed the phones were cut off to keep news media from phoning the reservation to find out what happened in the tribal courtroom.

In another incident, Assistant South Dakota Attorney General William Janklow, accompanied by a deputy sheriff, attempted to force his way into a Wounded Knee defense committee office in Pierre, S.D. Mark Lane, who was present in the office, prevented Janklow from entering, demanding that he produce a search warrant or leave.

For further reading:

Black Liberation and Socialism

Edited by Tony Thomas, paper \$2.45

Order from: PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

Saturday night TV

The Mary Tyler Moore Show produced by Edward Weinberger and directed by Jay Sandrich for CBS-TV. All in the Family produced by John Rich and directed by John Rich and Bob La Hendro for CBS-TV.

In the 1960s, Saturday night was movie night. Television did not seem to want to—or be able to—compete with the sophistication of movies. TV was for families, and movies were for people who didn't want to sit around home.

Now all this has changed. Since 1971 the Saturday night television lineup has included "All in the Family" and "Mary Tyler Moore."

These shows are sophisticated, and they're able to offer something that Saturday night movies can't offer: ongoing, week-after-week life.

What is new about these shows is the kind of life-scenes they attempt to develop: Mary Tyler Moore, for example, is a single career woman in her thirties who never chases after men or seems to have the slightest dependence on them. She seldom has dates, and couldn't care less.

This is not to say that Mary is supposed to fit the image of a liberated woman. No, the "Mary Tyler Moore" show is not very political, but the fact that she relates on an equal footing with other cast-members is refreshing.

Her friendship with Rhoda (Valerie Harper) is the real highlight of the show. What will happen when Rhoda leaves to start her own series? If they try to fill her place with a man—which is rumored—we might go back to the movies.

Almost all of Mary Tyler Moore's friends and co-workers are sympathetic—except for Ted, the baritone-voiced anchorman. He suffers more indignities for his self-centeredness than any character since Shakespeare's Malvolio.

But Ted is always forgiven in the end, proving that justice and mercy are basic to the Mary Tyler Moore utopia.

Television

"All in the Family," on the other hand, is explicitly and sometimes even overbearingly political.

The characters—from Archie the "hardhat" to Edith, his incompetent but loving wife—are stereotypes.

Archie's reactionary political ideas become a rich subject for dramatic exposure. The Bunkers' living room turns out to be the site for the acting out of an amazingly wide variety of American political problems. The oppression of old people was the subject of one of the best shows.

In fact, "All in the Family" is better when dealing with less familiar questions. Its liberal viewpoint becomes an obvious limitation when dealing with issues like racism and sexism.

"All in the Family" and "Mary Tyler Moore" can challenge the film industry for its Saturday night audience because they represent the impact of the 1960s on TV. And they have the added advantage of being week-by-week developments as opposed to the three-dollars-down-the-drain feeling you often get from the movies. —DAVE SALNER



Ed Asner and Ted Knight in scene from Mary Tyler Moore show.



'Breakfast of Champions'

Breakfast of Champions by Kurt Vonnegut. Published by Delacorte Press. New York, 1973. Cloth, \$7.95

Kurt Vonnegut is the hottest novelist to hit the American scene, especially the college campus, since Joseph Heller and Catch 22. His antiwar novel, *Slaughterhouse Five*, is so hot that several copies have actually been burned by school administrators in Drake, N.D.

If the pious Philistines were shocked by *Slaughterhouse*, they will be positively scandalized by Vonnegut's recent *Breakfast of Champions*.

This work does not get sidetracked by beating the dead horse of religion. It says quite clearly what is the central feature of this "dying planet": "Everybody in America was supposed to grab whatever he could and hold onto it. Some Americans were . . . fabulously well-to-do. Others couldn't get their hands on doodley-squat." But then there were a lot of people on this "wrecked planet" who were "Communists. They had a theory that what was left of the planet should be shared more or less equally among all the people."

The opening chapters are written as though the author were a visitor from outer space, and the earth he describes, at least the United States, is a madhouse. The system he describes is driven by "madness about a soft, weak metal which had

Books

somehow been declared the most desirable of all elements."

All the evils cataloged throughout the novel—sexploitation, militarism, racism, the despoilation of the environment, private property, the commercialization of art—are derived, in Vonnegut's view, from humanity's being treated and used as machines. Emphasizing the technological displacement of humans by machines, Vonnegut also holds the moral vision: nothing human is alien to me.

Though what he is analyzing is obviously capitalism, that is the one word—together with socialism—that Vonnegut avoids like the plague.

He is not afraid to identify himself as an atheist and a pacifist, yet he refrains from identifying the cause of America's sickness, and its cure, by their proper names. I suspect that this is due, in part, to pressure from publishers, peers, and critics. In "sophisticated" circles, it is considered passé and outré to even suggest that people are capable of overcoming, or even struggling against, the inanity, insanity, and inhumanity that Vonnegut so vividly portrays.

So, unfortunately all the author can do, after a noble beginning, is laugh and retreat into a surrealist universe. —TOM FIDDICK

'Daisy Miller'

Daisy Miller directed by Peter Bogdanovich. Produced by Peter Bogdanovich. A Paramount Pictures release starring Cybill Shepherd and Barry Brown.

Peter Bogdanovich is often criticized for trying to make "old-fashioned" movies. However, if one goes often to the movie theaters and suffers through today's mediocrities, the fact that a contemporary director is seeking to model his films after the great masters of the past is more than welcome.

Bogdanovich's latest film, *Daisy Miller*, is, as Andrew Sarris of the *Village Voice* puts it, "calculatingly Wellesian." Bogdanovich even went so far as to premier the film at the Orson Welles Cinema in Cambridge, Mass.

This film, based on a story by Henry James, has raised somewhat of a squabble over whether Bogdanovich remained faithful to James. The plot is the same, but Bogdanovich gives it an entirely different treatment.

While some may consider this fact alone enough to label *Daisy Miller* a failure, nothing could be further from the truth. After all, a director should be free to exercise his or her own sensibility—even at the expense of a literary work of art. What should be frowned upon is cinema where the director shows no sensibility at all. That is definitely not a problem with Bogdanovich.

Henry James's works generally deal with the American expatriate in Europe, hopelessly alienated from both American and European society. James's surrogate in *Daisy Miller*, Frederic Winterbourne, is a case in point. Immensely knowledgeable on subjects of European history and etiquette, Winterbourne simply goes through the motions of the much-acclaimed "European" gracefulness without any emotions to back them up. This Europeanized American is genuinely attracted to Daisy Miller, but is, as Bogdanovich's Daisy says, too "stiff" to give it a real try.

For James, Daisy, as all "vulgar" Americans, is unequal to the high culture of Europe; she is more lively, but stupid.

Bogdanovich's own sensibility too closely paral-

Film

els Daisy's for him to treat the character in the same way. His film is made from the point of view of the American wise guy rather than the Europeanized outlook of James's. For Bogdanovich/Miller, nineteenth century European high society was rigid ("stiff"), sexually repressive, and the expatriate Americans were pretentious, confused snobs.

The young American director's Daisy is vibrant and alive. She is a woman who does what she wants—European high society be damned. With James, Daisy Miller's coquettishness is dangerous. With Bogdanovich, she is simply being forthright.

Bogdanovich carefully avoids the pitfall of melodrama in his treatment of this James novella. The ending is done particularly well. And while in his determination to stay clear of melodrama Bogdanovich may have created a film that lacks certain nuances, on the whole it's a fine film.

—NORMAN OLIVER



Cybill Shepherd and Peter Bogdanovich

Outrage at British police murder of Kevin Gately

There has been a swift and powerful response throughout Britain to the savage police murder of Kevin Gately. The 21-year-old student died in London June 15 from a cerebral hemorrhage, four hours after being clubbed on the head during an assault by hundreds of baton-wielding police against a crowd of peaceful antiracist demonstrators. It was the first street demonstration Gately had ever participated in.

The police attack came when the demonstration of 1,000 approached Conway Hall, where an anti-immigrant rally was to be held by the far-right National Front (NF) after a racist march through central London by about 1,000 NF members.

The counterdemonstration was organized by the antiracist organization Liberation, and supported by the Communist Party, the International Socialists, and the International Marxist Group (IMG, British section of the Fourth International).

On June 21 more than 1,500 students marched four miles from Warwick University, where Gately had been a student, to the center of Coventry to protest Gately's murder. According to *Intercontinental Press* correspondents Tony Hodges and David Dillon, the students also demanded an immediate, independent, public inquiry into the police attack.

Participating in the march and speaking at the rally in Coventry were shop stewards and union leaders from the area, as well as a representative of the Pakistani community in Coventry.

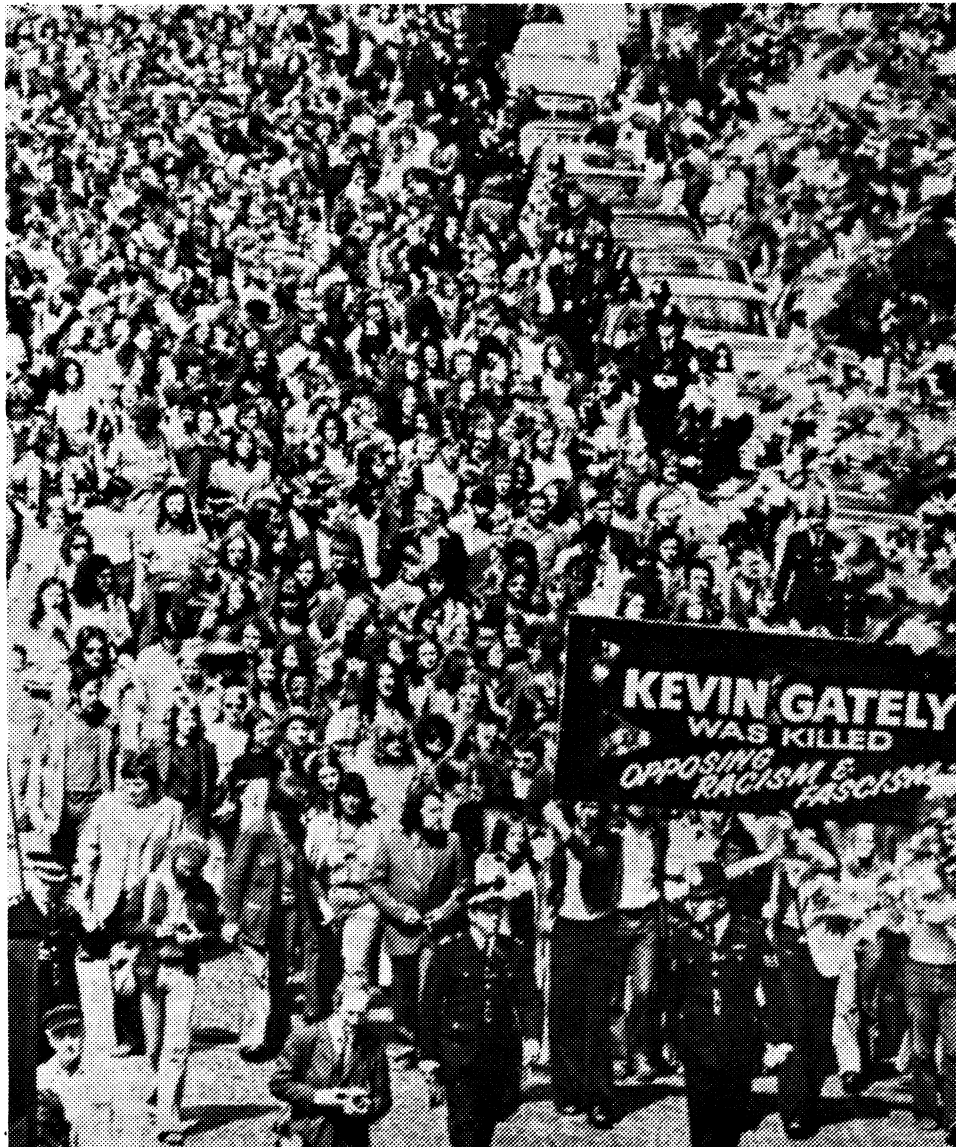
William Wilson, Labour member of parliament for Coventry South East, told the rally: "The forces of fascism and racialism are substantial and it needs the everlasting vigilance of all those who believe in the brotherhood of man. In the future when we march against fascism and racism, we shall never walk alone—the spirit of Kevin

Gately will walk with us."

Jackie Stevens, a student at Warwick University and a member of the IMG, who had marched next to Gately into Red Lion Square, told the rally, "We want a public inquiry. We want no whitewash or a police-controlled inquiry."

Jackie Stevens addressed another

rally the next day in London, following a march by 10,000 students and workers. She spoke alongside George Anthony, the president of the North London district of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, and John Randall, the president of the National Union of Students, which organized the demonstration.



Warwick University students led London march of 10,000 to protest Gately's murder

Coverage of the police brutality on June 15 has been extensive in the major bourgeois press, despite claims by Assistant Deputy Commissioner of Police John Gerrard, who commanded the police operation, that "there was a deliberate and predetermined attack on the police cordon" following a "pre-arranged signal."

The June 19 *London Times*, for example, printed a long eyewitness account of the police assault sent to the paper by J.W. Thomson. He reported that as the demonstration entered Red Lion Square, "before anyone knew what was happening, a body of mounted police rode into the demonstrators, a manoeuvre that amounted to a deliberate act of terrorism."

After most of the demonstrators escaped the cordon and reassembled further up the road, police made their second major assault, even more violent than the first.

The London weekly magazine *Time Out* reported in its June 21-27 issue that a third and final "instance of police violence" occurred when "the main body of the IMG contingent, by then only about 35 strong, decided to leave the demonstration." They were followed by police, then jumped from behind, beaten, and kicked.

A fund appeal to aid the defense of the 54 demonstrators who were arrested has been launched by the National Union of Students.

On June 17 a group of Labour members of parliament demanded that Labour Home Secretary Roy Jenkins set up a "full, public, and independent inquiry" into the police violence. Jenkins replied that Sir Robert Mark, the commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, would welcome "the fullest and most independent inquiry in order to clear up the matter," but no such inquiry has yet been established.

North Carolina protest held against death penalty

By MEG ROSE

RALEIGH, N. C. — Demonstrators from around the country demanded an end to the death penalty here in a July 4 march. The protesters also demanded an end to the brutal behavior-modification programs in North Carolina prisons and the release of all political prisoners.

North Carolina has reinstituted the death penalty for first-degree burglary, rape, arson, and murder. There are now 42 people on Death Row, most of them Black. There are a total of 76 prisons in North Carolina with 12,000 inmates, giving it one of the highest prisoner ratios in the nation.

Several frame-up cases in North

Carolina have gained national prominence over the past few years. The Charlotte Three—Jim Grant, T.J. Reddy, and Charles Parker—are Black activists convicted in July 1972 of burning a riding stable in Charlotte, N.C., in 1968. It was recently revealed that the two main witnesses against them were paid off on the order of Robert Mardian, a former Justice Department Watergater.

Another frame-up victim, the Reverend Ben Chavis, was one of the speakers at the July 4 rally here. Chavis was framed on murder, arson, and conspiracy charges following a Black protest in Wilmington, N.C., in 1971 against white vigilante attacks on the Black community there.

The Black mayor of Raleigh, Clarence Lightener, welcomed the demonstrators at an opening rally. But Governor James Holshouser had mobilized 1,000 members of the National Guard and 300 state police to intimidate the protesters.

Following the opening rally, the demonstrators marched to the state capitol. As the march moved along the street, it swelled to perhaps 8,000 to 10,000, as spectators including many Blacks joined in.

"Seventy percent of the people in jail today are Black men and women," the Reverend Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference told the rally. "It's not because we commit more crime, but because

there's something wrong with this system. The real criminals are on the outside," he said, referring to such people as John Mitchell, Spiro Agnew, Ronald Reagan, Strom Thurmond, and Richard Nixon.

Angela Davis, a member of the Communist Party, was a featured speaker. The CP played a prominent role in organizing the demonstration.

Other speakers included Che Velázquez of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Haywood Burns of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, and Larry Little of the Winston-Salem Black Panther Party.

The action was sponsored by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

20,000 people march, demand gay civil rights

By CLAUDE WYNNE

NEW YORK—In perhaps the largest outpouring since the Christopher Street Liberation Day demonstrations began in 1970, some 20,000 people marched from Sheridan Square to Central Park here on June 30.

The event commemorates the Stonewall rebellion of June 1969, when patrons at the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar on Christopher Street in New York's Greenwich Village, fought back against a police raid and helped to inspire the gay liberation movement.

Organizers of the march were surprised at the large turnout. They attributed it to anger over the defeat

of Intro 2, the gay civil rights bill that was recently voted on by the New York city council.

A vicious campaign launched by the Catholic church and various right-wing forces was responsible for the defeat of the bill. This offensive helped make larger numbers of gay people aware of the necessity to fight for their rights.

Chants at the march included: "Separate Church and State," "Gay is Just as Good as Straight," and "Pass Intro 2."

Speakers at the rally in Central Park included Frank Kameny of the Mat-

tachine Society of Washington, D. C.; feminist Kate Millett, author of *Sexual Politics*; Sarah Montgomery of Parents of Gays; and Jean O'Leary and Nancy Fish of Lesbian Feminist Liberation. A message of support was sent by Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-N. Y.).

Sarah Montgomery, an 84-year-old mother of a gay man who killed himself because he lost his job for being gay, denounced the city council for its failure to pass a gay civil rights law. She said, "The message to the lawmakers of this land is clear. Either you believe in the Bill of Rights of our Constitution or you don't."

Among the marchers was a contingent of Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters and candidates, including Derrick Morrison, SWP candidate for governor of New York; Rebecca Finch, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; and Claire Moriarty, SWP candidate in Manhattan's 20th Congressional District.

They walked with a banner demanding, "Pass the New York Gay Civil Rights Bill." An SWP campaign statement passed out at the action called for "total and unequivocal support to full human and civil rights for gay people."

Calendar

BERKELEY/OAKLAND

REVOLT IN PORTUGAL AND THE AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLES. Speaker: Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California. Fri., July 19, 6:30 p.m.: African dinner; 8 p.m.: program; 10 p.m.: party. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$2, dinner; \$1, program. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign committee. For more information call (415) 548-0357.

BOSTON

RALLY IN DEFENSE OF SOVIET DISSIDENTS. Speakers: Prof. Aleksandr Yezenin-Volpin, Soviet dissident; Karel Kovanda, Czech student leader in 1968 'Prague Spring'; Roman Kupcinski, chairman, New York Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners; George Saunders, editor, Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition. Tues., July 16, 12 noon. Government Center Plaza. Ausp: Committee Against Repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

PORTUGAL AND ITS AFRICAN COLONIES—THE ASCENDING REVOLUTIONS. Speakers: Jose Aica, Portuguese Committee for Democratic Action; Raymond Almeida, Cape Verdian American Federation; Salah Mateos, PAIGC National Support Committee; Maceo Dixon, cochairman, Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee. Fri., July 19, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. The class nature of the Soviet Union. Tues., July 16, 8 p.m.: Class 1; Thurs., July 18, 8 p.m.: Class 2. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: 50 cents per class. Ausp: Brooklyn Socialist Summer School. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CLEVELAND

'VIVA LA CAUSA! Slide show about 1973 grape strike in Coachella, Calif. Speaker: Coert Bonthius, United Farm Workers. Fri., July 19, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

DETROIT

MICHIGAN 1974 SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN BARBECUE AND RALLY. Racism and the 1974 elections. Speakers: B.R. Washington, SWP candidate for attorney general; Hattie McCutcheon, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 1st C.D.; Robin Maisel, SWP candidate for governor of Michigan. Sat., July 20, 6 p.m. 75 McLean, Highland Park. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Michigan 1974 Socialist Workers campaign committee. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. The history of the Russian revolution: its lessons for today. Wed., July 17, 8 p.m. and Sat., July 20, 10 a.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: 25 cents per session. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (213) 483-1512 or 483-2581.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

WORKING WOMEN FIGHT FOR EQUALITY: THE COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN. Speakers: Virginia Mulrooney, professor, Valley College; Carole Seligman, participant in CLUW conference, member of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 19, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

ANNUAL LOS ANGELES SHISH KEBAB. Sun., July 28, 4 p.m.: refreshments; 6 p.m.: dinner. 1781 Euclid Ave., Pasadena. Donation: \$4. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign committee. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

ST. LOUIS

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Cannon's 'Speeches to the Party'—Wed., July 17, 7:30 p.m.: Further clarification of the disputed issues. Organizational principles of the party—Sat., July 20, 3 p.m.: Leninist concept of the party; Sun., July 21, 1 p.m.: Organizational character of the Socialist Workers Party. 4660 Maryland (at Euclid), Room 17. Donation: \$3 for entire series or 50 cents per class. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SEATTLE

FIFTEEN YEARS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION: AN ASSESSMENT. Speaker: Karl Foreman, Young Socialist Alliance; visited Cuba in 1970. Fri., July 19, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. History of the Russian revolution. Wed., July 17, 8 p.m. A Marxist approach to the labor movement. Speaker: Doug Jenness, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 27, 1 p.m.: Class 1; 4 p.m.: Class 2. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1 per class. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SERIES. The roots of Stalinism. Sun., July 21, 6:30 p.m.: A program for political revolution in the workers states. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$3 for entire course; 50 cents per session. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign committee. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

...union

Continued from page 8
position and curb AFSCME. Wurf said AFSCME was willing to try participating in the new department, but would withdraw if any attempt was made to use it against AFSCME.

Roughly 20 to 30 percent of the AFSCME convention delegates were Blacks and 30 to 40 percent were women. Few were younger than their mid-thirties.

A women's caucus drew 140 participants, and the convention passed resolutions in support of the Equal Rights Amendment and in favor of demanding child-care provisions in AFSCME contracts.

The convention also adopted a resolution of support for the Coalition of Labor Union Women and heard an address by Olga Madar, president of CLUW and a former vice-president of the United Auto Workers. This resolution is the first formal endorsement of CLUW by an AFL-CIO international union, and will be a significant aid to women unionists

throughout the country working to build CLUW. It urges all AFSCME women to join CLUW and pledges "all available resources" to help it. Black delegates played a leading role at the convention, which passed overwhelmingly a resolution favoring "affirmative action" for women and minorities to overcome the effects of past discrimination. Also passed were resolutions opposing the importation of products, including grapes and chrome, from the racist settler-states of Rhodesia and South Africa.

Charles Hayes, vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, spoke on behalf of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and AFSCME reaffirmed its support for that organization.

The delegates also gave an enthusiastic welcome to César Chávez, president of the United Farm Workers, and voted a strong endorsement of the UFW's boycott of scab grapes and lettuce.

A resolution submitted by Canal Zone Local 907 calling for the United States to relinquish control over the Panama Canal was passed overwhelmingly after Wurf agreed that the U.S. had no right to be there and should have gotten out long ago.

In contradiction to its militant and progressive stance on many issues are the AFSCME leadership's continued ties to the Democratic Party and opposition to independent labor political action. The AFSCME leaders keep supporting fake "friends of labor" in the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. But these parties make up the government that public workers confront directly as their employer, and they demonstrate their strikebreaking, antilabor role in opposing every struggle by AFSCME members.

There was no sign at the AFSCME convention that this self-defeating policy would be reversed.

...veterans

Continued from page 5

disability benefits with the VA in 1972. It still hasn't been acted on.

During their stay in Washington both the Bonus March Coalition and the VVAW/WSO are prohibited from pitching tents, unrolling sleeping bags, or sleeping on National Park Service property. Government lawyers got the U.S. Court of Appeals to overturn a lower court ruling that would have allowed the organizations to camp out

in the parks.

Police made repeated attempts to provoke a confrontation at the VVAW/WSO staging area by making an issue of the few sleeping bags scattered about the grounds. They finally launched a brutal attack on the demonstrators on the night of Wednesday, July 3. Demonstrators were savagely beaten when they stepped into a street that lay between the assembly area and a planned rally on Capitol Hill.

Two dozen people required medical treatment, including one with a broken arm. Five people were arrested for "demonstrating without a permit."

...swindle

Continued from page 28

"The government is anxious to avoid another Wounded Knee," said a government official in explaining why he thought the Interior Department might go along with the tribe's demand. He was quoted in an article on the Cheyennes' case in the Winter 1973 issue of *Akwesasne Notes*.

The emerging struggle by Native Americans against the power companies and the BIA is an important new step in the fight to gain control over their lives and to gain back some of the riches that have been stolen from them.

The strip-mining land-grab is another example of the deception and robbery that has characterized the U.S. government's treatment of the Indians for centuries. It was one of the topics discussed at the 3,000-strong International Treaty Convention held by Indians from across the country in South Dakota last month.

There is a new determination among Indians to fight for their rights. The struggle to control the new-found mineral riches on reservation lands is becoming a central part of that battle.

Secret Documents Exposed:

FBI PLOT AGAINST THE BLACK MOVEMENT by Baxter Smith

\$3.50

Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Glenda Horton, 1253 S. 7th St. #70, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 292-3289.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825, YSA—(303) 266-9431.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Meriwether Shepherd, 809 W. Pensacola St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 222-2253.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Martha Shockey, 2920 17th Ave., Columbus, Ga. 31901.

HAWAII: Honolulu: YSA, c/o David Hough, 629 Ban-

nister St. #4, Honolulu, Hawaii 96819.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Dave Ellis, 1309 E. Vermont, Indianapolis, Ind. 46202.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, Dept. of Entomology, Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. 66045. **KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

Louisville: YSA, P.O. Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208. **MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, P.O. Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103 Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 668-6334.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135. East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Kalamazoo: YSA, c/o Gail Altenberg, 728 S. Burdick St., Apt. 3 Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007.

MINNESOTA: Mankato: YSA, c/o Chris Frank, Rt. 1, Box 6, Mankato, Minn. 56001.

Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Spencer Livingston, 169 Quail St., Albany, N.Y. 12203. Tel: (518) 436-0096.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849. Buffalo: YSA, c/o David Strong, 236 W. Utica, Buffalo, N.Y. 14222. Tel: (716) 885-8861.

New Paltz: YSA, c/o Diane Phillips, 36 Plattkill Ave., New Paltz, N.Y. 12561. Tel: (914) 255-1871.

New York City: City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-5940.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Ossining: YSA, c/o Scott Cooper, 127-1 S. Highland Ave., Ossining, N.Y. 10562. Tel: (914) 941-8565.

Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 11025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-9043.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Louise Pitell, 101 E. 14th St., Apt. V, Columbus, Ohio 43201. Tel: (614) 294-7279.

OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark,

Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP and YSA, 304 S. Bouquet St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

State College: c/o Bill Donovan, 572 W. Hillside Ave., State College, Pa. 16801.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67 Sta. B, Vanderbilt U., Nashville, Tenn. 37235. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, SWP, Militant Bookstore, Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces, Austin, Texas 78701. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, 546 Blaze Dr., San Antonio, Texas. 78218.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Bellingham: YSA and Young Socialist Books, Rm. 213, Viking Union, Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. Tel: (206) 676-3460.

Pullman: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, Washington State University, Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5623 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: YSA, c/o University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Union Box 139, Milwaukee, Wis. 53201.

Sell The Militant

Join The Militant's sales campaign by taking a regular weekly bundle to sell on your campus, at your job, or near where you live. The cost is 17 cents per copy, and we will bill you at the end of each month.

I want to take a weekly sales goal of ____.
Send me a weekly bundle of ____.



() Enclosed is \$4 for a Militant shoulder bag (large enough to carry dozens of Militants plus books, leaflets, etc.)

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

Now available

July-Dec. 1973 Militant bound volume and index, \$10.50.
Index only, \$1. Bound volume only, \$10.

ALSO AVAILABLE:

Bound volumes (\$10 each) and indexes (\$1 each): Jan.-June 1973; Jan.-June 1972; July-Dec. 1972; Jan.-June 1971; July-Dec. 1971 (Index, Jan.-Dec. 1971).

The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Readings on the Mideast

ISRAEL AND THE ARAB REVOLUTION: Fundamental Principles of Revolutionary Marxism by Gus Horowitz, an EDUCATION FOR SOCIALISTS publication, 8x11 format, \$1.00

MIDEAST OIL AND U.S. CAPITALISM by Dick Roberts, \$.35

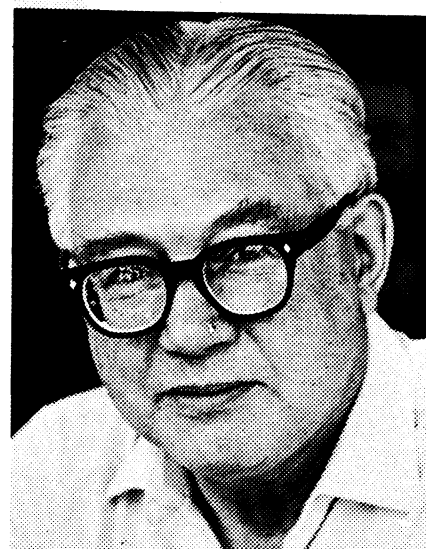
ROOTS OF THE MIDEAST War Anthology, taken from the pages of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, 8x11 format, \$.75

SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE MIDEAST: A Debate from the pages of THE MILITANT and DAILY WORLD, Dave Frankel versus Tom Foley, \$.60

WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST: The Socialist View by Dave Frankel, Dick Roberts, Tony Thomas, \$.60

Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

George Novack on Marxist theory



THE REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL OF THE WORKING CLASS

by Ernest Mandel and George Novack. Has America proved Marx wrong? Has the American working class forever lost the capacity to transform society?

Two noted Marxist scholars examine the latest developments in the U.S. and Western Europe and prove that today's movements of Blacks, Chicanos, women, and students haven't become a substitute for the working class. On the contrary, labor will emerge as the most powerful force in future revolutionary struggles and will ally with these movements to lead the socialist transformation of society. 80 pp., \$5.00, paper \$1.45

Other writings by George Novack:

DEMOCRACY AND REVOLUTION, 288 pp., \$7.95, paper \$2.95

EMPIRICISM AND ITS EVOLUTION: A Marxist View, 164 pp., \$4.95, paper \$2.45

HUMANISM AND SOCIALISM, 160 pp., \$6.95, paper \$2.25

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LOGIC OF MARXISM, 144 pp., \$4.95, paper \$1.95

THE MARXIST THEORY OF ALIENATION, with Ernest Mandel, 94 pp., \$3.95, paper \$1.45

THE ORIGINS OF MATERIALISM, 300 pp., \$6.95, paper \$2.95

THEIR MORALS AND OURS: Marxist vs. Liberal Views on Morality, with Leon Trotsky and John Dewey, 112 pp., \$6.00, paper \$1.45

UNDERSTANDING HISTORY: Marxist Essays, 176 pp., \$5.95, paper \$2.45

Available from the bookstores listed in the Socialist Directory on the facing page or by mail from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for a complete catalog of books and pamphlets.

Join the Young Socialist Alliance



Read the Young Socialist newspaper

The Young Socialist Alliance is out to transform this society from top to bottom. We are fighting for a socialist world, where human needs will come before private profit.

____ I would like more information about the YSA.

____ I want to join the YSA.

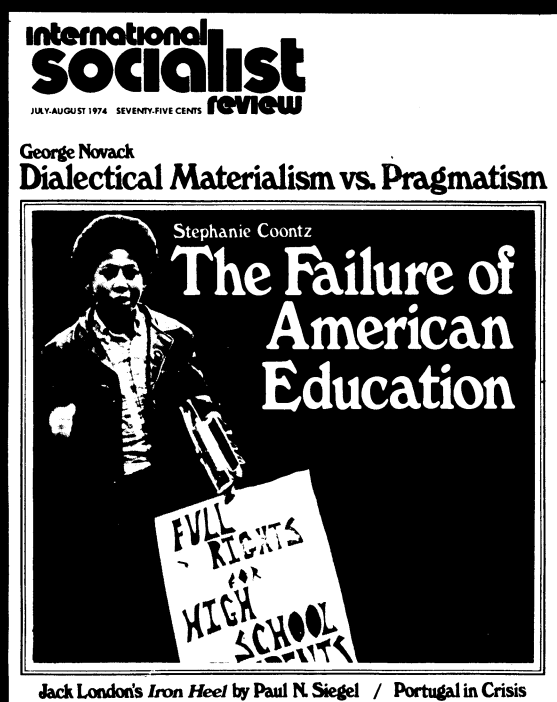
____ Enclosed is \$1 for 6 months of the Young Socialist newspaper.

Name: _____

Address: _____

City, state, zip, & phone: _____

YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Sta., N.Y., N.Y. 10003



**A monthly Marxist journal
subscribe now. 3 mos. \$1 / 1yr. \$5**

ISR, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The great land grab

Energy trusts move West-- rob Indians, leave wasteland

By MARVEL SCHOLL

There is a vast stretch of America, east of the Mississippi and west into the foothills of the Rockies, that is the object of a gigantic steal by coal and oil corporations. Under these plains, wheat lands, deserts, and range country lies a rich layer of low-sulfur coal.

Most of this coal lies only about 60 feet under the surface and can be strip-mined with gigantic bulldozers and steam shovels. Until the energy crisis jacked up fuel prices, this coal was considered unprofitable because of its distance from the major markets in the East.

In addition to being burned directly as fuel, the coal can be gasified in huge refinery-like plants and shipped through pipelines to the East.

The corporations vying for mineral rights and leases on this land say they will reclaim the ugly furrows and the windrows of slag heaps produced through strip mining.

But environmentalists point out that not one of the 12,000 acres strip-mined so far in the Northern Great Plains region has been returned to its original agricultural or grazing state. Many question whether it is possible at all—with present levels of technology—to reclaim this arid area once the natural patterns of vegetation have been disturbed. Certainly the profit-hungry corporations cannot be trusted to do so.

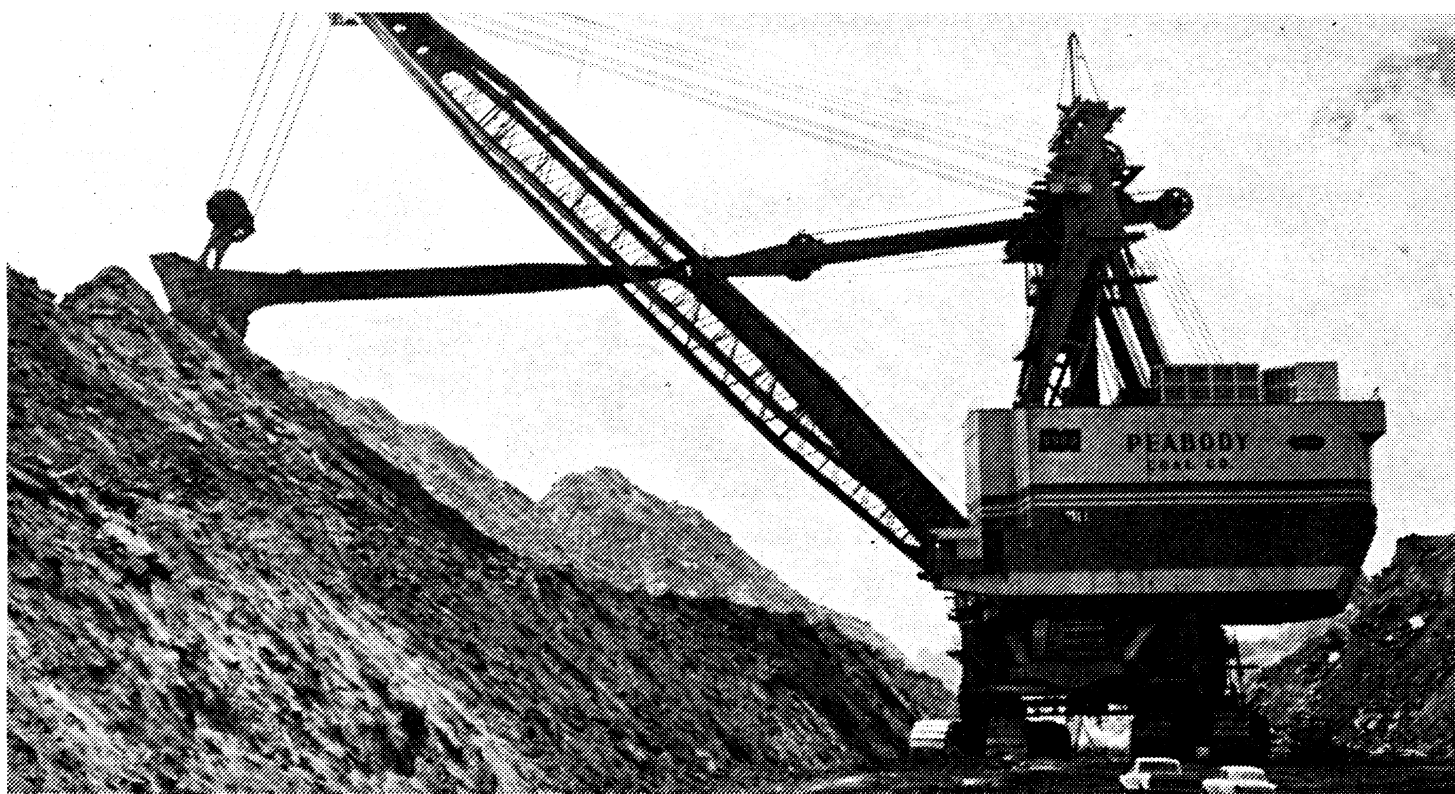
Much of the coal-rich land—which includes stretches of Arizona, Colorado, Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota, and Wyoming—is federally owned.

Another large segment is owned by railroads, many now defunct, which were given the land by the government about 100 years ago in another land swindle. In order to make this steal, many Indian reservations were ruthlessly shoved back further into inarable territories no one else had any use for.

Since the late nineteenth century, when the Native Americans were finally subjugated, they have been condemned to lives of poverty, robbed of their lands and culture, under the "guardianship" of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Now suddenly it is discovered that their apparently worthless reservation lands are rich in minerals.

Prospecting permits

In the year from July 1969 to July 1970, the issuance of prospecting permits on both federal and Indian lands shot up dramatically. The De-



Strip-mining machine at work. Gigantic shovels leave behind a desolate moonscape.

partment of the Interior granted permits covering 733,576 acres of federal lands—a 50 percent increase over the previous year. Permits granted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs went from practically zero to cover 500,000 acres.

Most bidders have thus far been holding out for speculative profits on the market rather than beginning actual mining operations. The price per acre for prospecting rights has risen to close to \$700.

Yet in 1970, the BIA granted several coal and oil corporations mining rights on 32,300 acres of Indian land for only \$7.87 an acre. This lease—only one example of the cheating of Indians—was on the Crow reservation in Big Horn and Treasure counties, Mont.

Until recent years, when the Native Americans have begun to organize and demand their legal and tribal rights, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was able to hold the Indians in check and force them to live in extreme poverty on their out-of-the-way, undeveloped lands. The BIA shifted the boundaries of the reservations at will—at the will of big business when a profitable use was found for such land.

Now things are changing.

On June 4 the Interior Department was forced to announce it had revoked the most crucial terms of leases for strip mining on 260,000 acres of Northern Cheyenne reservation land

in Montana. The ruling, in response to the Cheyennes' request for total cancellation of the leases, was seen by the Indians as an important victory.

The Cheyennes had charged that the government cheated them in leasing coal mining rights covering more than 60 percent of the Northern Cheyennes' 433,740-acre reservation.

The leases in question date from 1969, and are "potentially worth billions of dollars to four major energy corporations and two groups of land speculators," according to the May 19 *New York Times*.

The four major corporations are the Peabody Coal Company of St. Louis, the nation's largest coal producer; Consolidation Coal; American Metal Climax; and Chevron Oil, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of California.

Magnitude of swindle

The magnitude of the swindle being perpetrated on the Cheyennes in these leases became clear to them in the summer of 1972. At that time Consolidation Coal offered the Cheyenne tribal council a no-bid offer of 25-cents-a-ton royalty, \$35 an acre in land rent, plus a "bonus"—a sorely needed \$1.5-million medical center to be built at Lame Deer, the reservation's tribal center.

This offer compared with the average annual rent of only \$1 an acre,

and royalties of only 17.5 cents per ton, that had been "negotiated" for the Cheyennes by the BIA in previous leases.

Consolidation Coal's proposal "opened the Indians' eyes," according to Ben Franklin in the May 19, 1973, *New York Times*. The Cheyennes, whose average family income was only about \$1,800 per year, began to organize against the giant fraud being attempted by the profit-hungry power companies.

The offer was rejected and all other coal leases and prospecting terms negotiated by the BIA were given new scrutiny with the aid of lawyers from the Native American Rights Fund in Denver.

The tribal council also retained a Seattle firm of lawyers to press for abrogation of all leases negotiated by the bureau.

The Indians charged the BIA with not only failing to get a fair market price for the leases, but also with failing to conduct technical and environmental studies of the impact of strip mining and of the sudden introduction of an estimated construction and mining force of 30,000 workers, mostly whites.

The decision by the Northern Cheyenne tribal council to demand cancellation of the leases was made on March 5, 1973, during the height of the Wounded Knee occupation.

Continued on page 26